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HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF

NAPOLEON.

BOOK IX.

32141

1815.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL MS.

By B. E. O'MEARA,

WITH AN APPENDIX OF PROOFS THAT THE PRETENDED MANUSCRIPT FROM ST. HELENA WAS NOT WRITTEN BY NAPOLEON.

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ERRATA.

Page 341, line 11 from the bottom, dele Orange. Line 10, dele Baugé, and replace it by Orange. The sentence will then read *Gasparin, deputy for Orange.*

Page 342, line 1, in place of Vendemaire, read *Vendemiaire.*

Page 343, the same alteration in the last line. 344, line 4, the same.

Page 345, line 4, for Mr. Sydney Smith, read *Sir Sydney Smith.*—Line 13, for my general, read *any general.*

Page 346, line 17, for Andes, read *Rhodes.*—Line the last, for libels, read *libellers.*

Page 347, line 12, for Elrish, read *El-Arish.*

Page 348, line 7 from the bottom, for of these were, read *then was.*

PREFACE.

THE manuscript from which the following work has been faithfully translated, has been in the translator's possession since October, 1818. Circumstances, however, retarded the publication, until the desire of the illustrious personage by whom it was dictated could be ascertained. It forms the ninth book of his great work. The time has not yet arrived, when it would be proper to submit to the public any more than the present volume, which is purely military; and which contains an authentic relation of the memorable events which took place in France and in Flanders during the hundred days.

The Translator thinks, that the work cannot fail to excite and to satisfy the curiosity of the nation. Besides furnishing ample details of the operations which occurred in the Campaign of 1815, it is enriched with military criticisms of the first order. It is NAPOLEON himself who speaks. He criticises the conduct of the Generals who were opposed to him, while he bears ample testimony to the undaunted gallantry of the British troops; and he supports his arguments by reasonings and by proofs. It is unnecessary to praise such a work. It unmasks some reputations, but it declares the truth. It will furnish to history inappreciable materials, and to military men interesting lessons.

If on considering all the circumstances which have attended the publication of this work, any person should feel disposed to question the conduct of the Editor, in becoming the means of bringing

it before the world, he replies, that having been chosen by NAPOLEON as a professional assistant worthy of his confidence, and having in consequence lived under the same roof in habits of frequent and unconstrained intercourse with him, the Editor would have proved himself destitute of the best attributes of human nature, if he had not sympathized with the sufferings of a man, who from the highest pitch of grandeur and power, had fallen into the hands of those, who unhappily, did not consider it incompatible with their glory to treat him with indignity. When the Editor accepted from his government the appointment of surgeon to NAPOLEON, at the request of the latter, he had of course no intention to ally himself with every agent of that government in improper feelings and illiberal practices; but he considered, on the contrary, that the treatment of NAPOLEON would be in exact conformity to the public professions of that government and its

Allies; that is to say, a detention from motives of state policy, accompanied by the most liberal and generous treatment; and he never anticipated the possibility of his being expected to aid in the gratification of the worst passions—as questionable in their policy, as they are unworthy of the great nation in whose name they have been perpetrated.

To this edition has been added a copy of a document, which perhaps will not be thought among the least interesting pages of the volume. For in spite of the numerous and palpable anachronisms and other errors, which abound in the work published some time ago under the title of "*Manuscript from St. Helena*," there are many persons who still continue to believe that spurious production to have been dictated by NAPOLEON. For the purpose of removing all doubts upon this subject, the public are now presented with a series of observations

obtained by the Editor during his residence in St. Helena, from authority which it would be difficult to refute. The internal evidence contained in these remarks is such, as to preclude the necessity of troubling the reader with any further observations upon them.

Since the publication of the first French Edition of this Work, this document has been printed in French, and will be subjoined to a Second Edition; it will also be stitched separately, and delivered gratis to the purchasers of the first French Edition.

It may not be improper to add, that a Translation is in preparation of the EIGHTH BOOK OF THESE HISTORICAL MEMOIRS, which will appear in a few weeks.

BARRY E. O'MEARA.

late Surgeon to NAPOLEON.

February 8, 1820.

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ERRATUM.

Page 2, *for* Treaty of Paris, *in note, read* Treaty of Fontainbleau.

MEMOIRS

OF

NAPOLEON.

BOOK IX.—CHAPTER I.

THE BOURBONS ARE DRIVEN FROM FRANCE.

I. *The Imperial Eagle flies from Steeple to Steeple, to the Towers of Notre Dame at Paris.*—II. *Secret Convention concluded towards the end of* 1814, *between Austria, France, and England, against Russia and Prussia.*—III. *The King of Naples declares war against Austria.* IV. *Congress of Vienna in March,* 1815.

I. NAPOLEON left Elba on the 26th February, 1815, about nine o'clock at night; he embarked on board the brig of war

Inconstant, which carried a white ensign sprinkled with bees, during the whole of the voyage.* On the first of March, at five in the afternoon, he disembarked near Cannes, in the Gulf of Juan; when, his little army assumed the tri-coloured cockade; it consisted of one thousand men, the greater number of whom were soldiers of the old guard. He passed through Grasse on the second, at nine in the morning, slept at Sernon, having advanced twenty leagues during the day. The Emperor slept at Barrême on the third; on the fourth, his advanced guard, commanded by General Cambronne, seized on the fortress of Sisteron; on the fifth he entered Gap, and on the seventh, at two o'clock p. m. he met, on the heights before Vizille, the advanced guard of the garrison of Grenoble, which had been ordered to march against him. His Imperial Majesty went up to the colours alone, and, after a short harangue, the whole body assumed the tri-coloured cockade: placing himself at the head of

* This was the flag chosen by Napoleon immediately after Elba had been ceded to him by the treaty of Paris.—*Editor.*

these troops, they were ordered to wheel about, and at night he entered Grenoble, having proceeded eighty leagues through a most difficult and mountainous country, a march which is unequalled in history. Remaining at the last-named city during the eighth, he departed on the following day at the head of eight thousand troops of the line, and thirty pieces of cannon, making his entry into Lyons on the tenth, when Count Defargues, the mayor, presented the keys of the city to his Majesty. The Count D'Artois, the Duke of Orleans, and Duke of Tarento precipitately retired from it, unaccompanied, on the same day: their unexpected apparition at the Thuilleries, soon after, seemed to strike the court with a species of stupor. Finally, on the twentieth of March, at eight o'clock in the evening, it being the anniversary of his son's birthday, the Emperor entered Paris. Forty thousand troops of the line had, by this time, successively ranged themselves under his banners. The little army of Elba arrived the next day, having marched two hundred and forty leagues in twenty days. Louis quitted Paris on the night

between the 19th and 20th of March, crossing the frontiers of France on the 23rd. On his departure from Lisle, all the fortresses of Flanders hoisted the tri-coloured flag. At the first report of Napoleon's disembarkation, the Duke de Bourbon had been sent to Nantes, to head the people of La Vendée; whilst the Duke d'Angouleme was invested with the government of the provinces on the left bank of the Loire. All the attempts made to raise the people in the West, were fruitless; there the inhabitants re-collected the great debt of gratitude which they owed to Napoleon. As to the Duke de Bourbon, he embarked at Paimbœuf, on the first of April, in an English vessel; meanwhile, the Duke d'Angouleme sent the Baron de Vitrolles, a minister of state, from Bordeaux, to establish the head-quarters of his government at Toulouse, leaving the Duchess, his wife, at Bordeaux, in the hope of retaining that important town, and of rallying with the Spanish army. The Duke himself, at the head of the 10th regiment of infantry, the 14th mounted chasseurs, and some battalions of royal volunteers of Languedoc,

conceived the rash enterprise of marching to Lyons; while the troops raised at Marseilles should proceed to Grenoble. He passed the Rhone by the bridge of St. Esprit, carried that on the Drome, which was defended by the national guards of Montelimart, entered Valence on the third, and established his outposts along the left bank of the Isere. At the same time, the armed force from Marseilles, amounting to two thousand five hundred men, supported by the 83d and 58th regiments of the line, under the orders of Lieutenant-General Ernouf, passed through Gap, and marched to Grenoble. These successes lasted but a single day; the Duchess d'Angouleme was forced to quit Bordeaux on the second. On the arrival of Lieutenant-General Clausel, she embarked on board an English brig. Vitrolles was arrested on the fourth by Lieutenant General Laborde, and imprisoned at Paris. General Gilly, profiting by the enthusiasm of the people of Languedoc, put himself at their head; his advance, composed of the 10th mounted chasseurs, and of the 6th light infantry, took possession of the bridge of St. Esprit,

driving the royalists before them. On the report of the dangers which threatened Lyons, the inhabitants of Burgundy and Auvergne arose en masse, and hastened to that city to demand arms, for the purpose of marching against Princes, whom they considered as allied to the enemies of the French name. The tricoloured flag was displayed in all the villages of Dauphiny, and an alarm bell announced the march of the royalists. On seeing the imperial eagle, which Lieutenant-General Chabert carried at the head of the national guard of Grenoble, the troops of the line instantly abandoned the royal cause: after this, the troops from Marseilles, surrounded on all sides, lost no time in disbanding themselves; happy in being thus able to regain their liberty. The Duke d'Angouleme now fully comprehended the imprudence of his undertaking; he, therefore, hastily evacuated Valence, and, while endeavoring to gain the bridge of St. Esprit, he was made prisoner by General Gilly. The Emperor released the captive, and allowed him to embark at Cette, on the 16th, in a Swedish vessel. Marshal

Massena, by displaying the tri-coloured flag in Provence, terminated the civil war. On the 20th, the salute of a hundred cannon from the invalids, announced to the capital, while discharges of artillery from the batteries on the coasts, and the fortresses on the frontiers, convinced foreign states, that the people of France had resumed their rights!

History will not fail to do justice to the generosity of the Conqueror, on this occasion. The Baron de Vitrolles had been excepted, by the decree of Lyons, from the general amnesty, and the Duke d'Angouleme, whose sentence was pronounced by the law of retaliation, were both saved by his clemency. "I wish," said Napoleon, "to be able to proclaim, that I re-conquered my throne without having shed a drop of blood, either in the field of battle, or on the scaffold."

II. Towards the end of 1814, and at the commencement of the following year, the utmost discord prevailed at the Congress of Vienna. Austria, France, and England, united by a secret convention, against Russia and Prussia—two powers which appeared to put no bounds to their

pretensions. Prussia wished to unite Dresden to its territory; this was contrary to the interest of Austria. But France, supported by Spain, demanded from the court of Vienna, in recompence for its support—first, that it should consent to the Bourbons of Sicily being permitted to re-ascend the throne of Naples; Austria refused, as much through jealousy of the House of Bourbon, as in order not to betray Murat, who had contributed so much to the successes of the Allies in 1814, by making common cause with the enemies of his country against the chief of his family, and his benefactor. Joachim had decided some events of the war. If, with his army (sixty thousand strong) he had joined the Gallo-Italian army, which the Viceroy commanded, it would have obliged that of Austria to remain for the defence of Carinthia and the Tyrol. The army of the Viceroy was superior to that of Field-Marshal Bellegarde; but it was kept in check by the Neapolitan forces: thus the weight which Murat put into the scale on the above occasion, was a hundred and twenty thousand men. With one hundred thousand

men less, the Allies would not have undertaken the invasion of France before the spring.

In 1814, the Neapolitan army was formidable, because at that epoch it contained two thousand French, Corsicans, or Italians, (of the kingdom of Italy) commissioned and non-commissioned officers, who quitted its ranks as soon as they received the circular, by which Count Molé, grand judge, recalled the French from the service of Naples. The Austrian ministers at the Congress frequently manifested how lightly they thought of the intervention of the court of France. "Louis XVIII," said they, "is not able to unite ten thousand men without the dread of seeing them turn against himself." M. de Talleyrand, Prince of Benevento, advised the cabinet of the Thuilleries to form three camps, one in Franche Comté, another before Lyons, and a third in the south of France; these might amount to thirty-six or forty thousand men, without obliging any increase of the military establishment, or materially adding to the public expenditure; whilst they would heighten the credit of

the country with foreign powers. This project was adopted. In the course of February 1815, the troops were put in motion. The general of division, Ricard, proceeded to Vienna, boasted in many conferences the flourishing state of the French army, its ardour and attachment to the king; and pompously added, that three camps, containing eighty thousand men, were formed in the neighbourhood of the Alps. The French plenipotentiaries demanded that this army, seconded by a Spanish division, should be permitted to pass into the south of Italy, either through Genoa, Florence, and Rome, or by sea. The King of Naples, on his side, did not slumber. He united his army (of sixty thousand men) in the marshes of Ancona. In order to counteract the effect of the negociations at the Thuilleries, he demanded from Austria a passage for the troops, which he wished to march towards the Alps for the purpose of penetrating into France, confirming as much as he could the opinion already disseminated, that the soldiers of France were not those of the Bourbons.

It was under these circumstances that

Napoleon disembarked. The regiments destined to form the three camps in the south, were already in motion, and so placed as to serve him as an escort in his triumphal march from the Gulf of Juan to Paris. Marshal Soult, minister of war, was therefore accused of treason, but appearances were calculated to deceive, for this movement of troops, their position agreeing so exactly with the march of the Emperor, took place in consequence of an express order of the king, and a formal demand made by the French plenipotentiaries at Vienna. This circumstance proved that the statesmen and politicians of other countries knew the secret inclinations and wishes of the French people, and of the army, much better than the princes and ministers of the House of Bourbon.

III. On the 16th February, some days before his quitting Elba, Napoleon dispatched one of his chamberlains to Naples, to make known to that court,—1st. That he was about to return to his capital, and drive the Bourbons from his throne; that he was resolved to maintain the treaty of Paris, which induced him to hope the

allied powers would take no part in the contention to which it might give rise; moreover, that the Russian troops were beyond the Nieman, part of the Austrians on the right bank of the Inn, the majority of the Prussians north of the Oder, and half of the English army in America; that the congress of Vienna had terminated its operations, and that the Czar had set out for St. Petersburg. 2dly. That he desired Murat would send a courier to Vienna, ordering his ambassador to notify to that court, that France would continue to execute the treaty of Paris; and, above all, that its pretensions to Italy were completely renounced. 3dly. That hostilities could not commence before the end of July; that France and Naples would, in the mean time, be enabled to concert a plan of future operations; but that previously he should place his army in a good position before Ancona, and in all unforeseen cases, conduct himself on the principle that it is better to fall back than to advance; to give battle south of the Garignano, than on the Po. Finally, that he would do much by way of diversion, and when

supported by a French army, without which he could do nothing whatever.

The envoy of the Emperor reached Naples on the 4th March. The Inconstant arrived there from the gulf of Juan on the 12th. A few days afterwards a courier from Genoa conveyed the news of Napoleon's triumphal entry into Grenoble, to the same place. The king no longer disguised his sentiments; he openly declared that it was his wish to excite an insurrection in Italy. "The Emperor," said he, "will meet with no obstacle, the whole French nation will fly to his standard; whereas, if I delay my march to the Po, and wait till July, the French armies will have restored the kingdom of Italy, and once more seized the iron crown; it is for me therefore, to declare the independence of Italy." It was in vain that the envoy and queen threw themselves at the king's feet, to convince him of the danger and temerity of the enterprize; nothing could dissuade him from his purpose. He set out for Ancona; arriving there at the head of his army, on the 22d March; he did not even give himself time to await the news of the

Emperor's entry into Paris, but he passed the Rubicon, crossed Romania, covering the territory of the Holy See and Tuscany with his troops; upon this, the Pope retired to Genoa, and the grand duke went to Leghorn. When he arrived at Bologna, the king of Naples called on the people of the kingdom of Italy to take up arms, but they demanded why he did not speak of Napoleon, their legitimate king; adding, that without his orders, they could not move; furthermore, that it appeared to them as being extremely imprudent to act before the French troops arrived on the Alps; that, at all events, they wanted muskets, of which the province of Bologna alone required forty thousand. As to the Neapolitan artillery, it had not a single stand of fire-arms. Some days afterwards, the Austrian army, which had concentrated itself on the left bank of the Po, passed that river, defeated the Neapolitan army, and entered Naples on the 12th May. Unable to throw himself into the fortress of Gaëta, the king embarked on board a merchant vessel, and landed in Provence, where he remained to wait for his family, and collect

partisans. The queen had, in the mean time, entered into negociations with an English commodore, who, according to the constant practice of the allies during this war, trampled under foot the capitulation, as they had done at Dantzic and Dresden. Instead of conveying that princess to France, she was taken to Trieste. Early in the month of April Prince Lucien, accompanied by a Charge d'Affaires from the Pope, arrived incognito at Fontainbleau; it was by him that the first news of Murat's irruption into Italy reached Paris. The Pope, wrote from Genoa to the Emperor, stating, that if he did not guarantee the possession of Rome, his holiness would take refuge in Spain. The Charge d'Affaires of the Holy See was well received at the Thuilleries, and returned, carrying with him the most favorable assurances to the sovereign Pontiff, to whom the Emperor guaranteed all that was secured to him by the treaty of Paris; making known, at the same time, that he greatly blamed the conduct of the King of Naples as contrary to his own policy.

IV. The news of the Emperor's disem-

barkation in France, was received at Vienna on the 8th of March, the congress was not as yet dissolved. On the 13th and 25th March, the ministers of the allied powers signed acts which were unexampled in history; they believed Napoleon lost. "He will," said they, "be promptly repulsed and defeated by the faithful subjects of Louis." When they afterwards heard that the Bourbons had been driven away on every side without resistance, and that all France had declared itself for the sovereign of its choice; the self-love of the allies was compromised, yet there was still some hesitation manifested. But when the Cabinet of Vienna was made acquainted with the sentiments of the King of Naples, and soon after with his hostile march, it had no doubt of his having acted by the orders of the Emperor, and that, therefore, Napoleon, constant and immoveable in his political system, continued to be what he was at Châtillon, indifferent to the crown of France, if he could not also possess Belgium, the Rhine, and perhaps that of Italy; it no longer hesitated. The ministers signed a treaty against France, by

which each of the four principal powers engaged to furnish one hundred and fifty thousand men. The ratifications were exchanged on the 25th April, and they calculated that a million of men, composed of all the nations of Europe, would be united at the end of July, on the frontiers of France.—Sweden and Portugal alone refused to furnish their contingent. Peace between England and the United States of America had been signed at Ghent, and ratified towards the end of February; so that the English troops being no longer required in Canada, were re-embarked for Europe. On the 15th of April the Duke of Wellington had his head-quarters at Brussels, while those of Prince Blucher were established at Liege. On the banks of the Thames and the Danube, the Spree, the Neva, and the Tagus, every thing re-echoed war. The French frigate Melpomene was taken on the coast of Naples by the Rivoli, an English ship of the line; but some days afterwards, the British Commodore in the Mediterranean received orders to respect the French flag, war not being declared. The vessels of France freely navigated the coasts.

A French frigate brought MADAME, the Emperor's mother, from Naples to France. These orders of the English Government were occasioned by the indecision of the sovereigns at Vienna, and the anxiety which the Court of London had to gain time, because its armies in Belgium were not strong enough to defend that country, whilst the Admiralty, finding it extremely difficult to equip the navy, was fearful lest the French squadron at Toulon should put to sea before a sufficient force could be provided to oppose it. Thus it was, that twice a prey to the strangest fatality, the King of Naples was as often the cause of our misfortunes: in 1814 by declaring against France, and in 1815, by a similar step with regard to Austria.

CHAPTER II.

MILITARY SITUATION OF FRANCE.

I. *Condition of the Army on the* 1*st March*, 1815.—II. *Organisation of an Army of eight hundred thousand strong.*—III. *Arming, Clothing, and Re-mounting the Cavalry; Finances.*—IV. *Situation of the Army on the* 1*st June*, 1815.—V. *Paris.*—VI. *Lyons.*

I. In the course of the last six months of the year 1814, the French army had undergone a new organisation. In March, 1815, it was composed of the following forces, viz.: One hundred and five regiments of infantry, of which three were in the colonies, four Swiss regiments, four regiments of infantry of the old guard, called grenadiers and chasseurs of France; fifty-seven regiments of cavalry of the line; four regiments of cavalry of the old

guard, denominated grenadiers, dragoons, chasseurs, and lancers of France; eight battalions of the train of artillery, two battalions of pontonniers, three regiments of sappers, miners, artificers, called engineers. The regiments of infantry consisted of two battalions each, there being only six that had three; the effective strength of each regiment was about nine hundred men, of which six hundred could take the field. The cavalry had an effective strength of twenty-five thousand men, and sixteen thousand horses; although eleven thousand horses were the utmost which it could send into the field; the battalions of the train of artillery were not filled up, they had two thousand horses at the depôts, and six thousand at subsistence amongst the peasants. The general strength was one hundred and forty-nine thousand men, of which an army of ninety-three thousand could be sent into the field; (*see Table* A.) a force scarcely sufficient to guard the fortresses, and the principal sea-ports, for all the fleets were dismantled and the crews discharged, excepting from a ship of the line, and three frigates at Toulon,

and two frigates at Rochefort. The only troops which the naval establishment possessed being eight battalions of gunners, the army had to provide for the defence of Cherbourg, Brest, L'Orient, Rochefort, and Toulon. The artillery stores, notwithstanding the losses sustained by the cession of the field trains, contained, in the fortresses of Antwerp, Vesel, Mayence, and Alexandria, were adequate to the wants of the greatest armies, and capable of providing for all the casualties they could undergo, during many campaigns. There were in the armories one hundred and fifty thousand new muskets, three hundred thousand repairing, independent of those which were in the hands of the army: but this was very inadequate to our wants. All the fortresses were disarmed, the palisades and besieging instruments had been sold; but the ordnance was able to supply them.

II. Eight hundred thousand men were thought requisite to resist Europe, on an equal footing. The first cares were directed to the moral organisation of the army. The numbers borne by the regiments since 1794, were restored to them;

they had been distinguished in twenty-five campaigns, and in a thousand battles! Lists were made of those who were to officer the 3d, 4th, and 5th battalions of the regiments of infantry, the 4th and 5th squadrons of the regiments of cavalry, thirty battalions of artillery, twenty regiments of the young guard, of ten battalions of artillery and waggon drivers, and of twenty regiments of marines; which gave employment to all the officers on half pay, both military and naval. Two hundred select battalions of the national guards were also required; each battalion composed of two companies of grenadiers, and two of riflemen, containing five hundred and sixty men. All the veterans were recalled to their colours: no coercive law was necessary to enforce their obedience; they joined in crowds, labourers, tradesmen, manufacturers, &c. all quitted their work, resumed their old uniforms, and cheerfully rejoined their regiments. This summons, which should have produced two hundred thousand men, yielded only one hundred and thirty thousand to the troops of the line; because a great num-

ber enrolled themselves in the two hundred battalions of the picked national guards, which others had entered as substitutes of the conscription of 1815. This levy was also put in requisition, and ought to have given one hundred and forty thousand men; but it did not produce more than eighty thousand at the end of May. The insurrection of La Vendée caused another deficiency; besides, many of the persons liable to conscription had been called out in 1814, and they preferred rejoining their colours under the denomination of veterans. The twenty regiments of marines were formed by thirty thousand sailors of the squadron formerly stationed at Antwerp, and those of Brest, Rochefort, and Toulon: the officers and petty officers of the navy having obtained all the commissions. A demand for two hundred and fifty thousand men was to be proposed to the Chamber in the course of July; the levy would thus have been terminated in September. The number of officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers, retired or pensioned, amounted to more than one hundred thousand, of whom

thirty thousand were capable of serving in the fortresses: they hastened to answer the requisition made to them by the Minister of War; and their zeal and experience were very necessary to direct the new levies, as well as to ensure the preservation of the fortresses. (*See Table* B.)

III. But fire-arms formed one of the important objects. The magazines were furnished with a sufficient quantity of sabres; and the artillery regulations enforced several measures for doubling the activity of the old manufactures:—1st, The workmen were exempted from military service: 2dly, The contractors were paid their advances which they demanded; 3dly, The rigour of its former ordinances were considerably relaxed, and its agents authorized to receive mixed models, having lock-plates more simple than those of 1777; many thousand plates were ordered to be cast in copper, while the manufactory of the mechanical plates was re-established. The imperial factories could, in ordinary times, furnish monthly twenty thousand stand of new arms; by these extraordinary means they

supplied forty thousand, which, in six months, would have made a total of two hundred and forty thousand. But even this number was insufficient; many additional workshops were therefore formed in the large fortresses, to repair all the old muskets in the different depôts. However, those established in the capital afforded the principal resource; they were of three sorts; the first was employed to new stock the firelocks intended for supplying the place of those injured on service: the cabinet-makers of the Faubourg St. Antoine, unaccustomed to this kind of work, soon became very skilful in it. The second class was employed in the repair of old muskets; while new arms were furnished by the third. The coppersmiths, journeymen watchmakers, and chasers, who are numerous in that great city, were all occupied. The officers of artillery exerted themselves with so much zeal and intelligence in the direction of all those efforts, that during the month of May fifteen hundred muskets were completed daily; in June, the number amounted to three thousand; and in the following month they would have been

able to furnish four thousand per day. There existed, at this momentous period, more activity in the capital than it displayed in 1793; but with this difference, that anarchy and disorder reigned throughout, during the first-named period. Besides, the arms which the revolutionary manufactories prepared were defective, nay, scarcely fit for service; whereas every thing was conducted with the greatest economy in 1815. This arose from a better system of administration, and more attentive superintendence. It should also be observed, that the arms made on this occasion were in strict conformity to the rules of art. This important service was therefore rendered complete. The manufactories of cloths, fit for the clothing of the troops, were numerous in 1812, and in the following year they could supply the wants of the army; but in 1814 they were all abandoned. The Minister of War had bespoke nothing; he gave no clothing to any of the corps, except the six regiments which bore the name of the King or the Princes. In the beginning of April, the treasury advanced many millions to the cloth-

manufacturers, who, in the space of a month, recommenced their business with the utmost activity. The clothing of eight hundred thousand men was a very considerable object, and it would have been impossible to provide for it in time. In this dilemma the Minister adopted the plan of requiring the sedentary national guard, by one of the articles which was to ordain the levy of two hundred and fifty thousand men, to furnish one hundred thousand suits and equipments to the army on active service.

The contractors delivered twenty thousand cavalry horses before the 1st of June, ten thousand trained horses had been furnished by the dismounted gendarmerie, the price of them was immediately paid to the gendarmes, who in eight days remounted themselves, by purchasing horses of their own choice. It was intended to take half of those horses, in the month of July, and agreements were made for fourteen thousand others; thus there were on the 1st of June, forty-six thousand cavalry horses at the depôts, or in a state of training, and there would have been sixty-six thousand at the end

of July. Five thousand artillery horses had returned from grass: agreements for fifteen thousand had been made with the contractors, twelve thousand were delivered by the 1st of June, at which epoch there were eighteen thousand artillery horses.

The facility with which the Duke de Gaeta, minister of finance, and the minister of the Treasury Count Molien, provided for these enormous expenses became an object of general astonishment, as all the branches of service could only be paid for in ready money. Advances were even required by many of the contractors, nevertheless the public debt and the pensions were discharged with the greatest exactness. The expenses of the interior, so far from being diminished, were augmented; the system of the public works was resumed throughout France: "It is very easy to see," said the workmen, "that the great contractor has returned; all was dead, but now every thing revives; we were idle, and we are now occupied!" An opinion generally prevailed, that the Emperor on his return had found a hundred millions in gold, at the Thuil-

leries; this was erroneous, the real treasure he found was the affection of his people, and the goodwill, not only of the mass of the nation, but also of the French and Dutch capitalists. The treasury negociated four millions of the sinking fund, at 50 per cent, which it replaced in credit, by an appropriation of national forests; this produced, clear of all deductions, forty millions * in ready money, which came into the treasury with incredible rapidity. The King had quitted Paris with such precipitation, that he had not been able to carry away the crown plate, valued at six millions, nor the treasury chests of the departments: fifty millions were found in these depositories, a part of this sum was employed by the former minister of finance, Baron Louis, in stock-jobbing speculations. This vicious system was abandoned by the Duke de Gaeta, who was thereby enabled to make use of the funds that had been appropriated to it. The contributions were not augmented, but the people were eager to accelerate the payment of them: gratuitous dona-

* These calculations are made in francs, of ten pence sterling each.—*Ed.*

tions were numerous; in some departments they exceeded a million. At all the parades, unknown citizens approached the Emperor and presented him with packets of bank-bills; frequently on his return to the Palace, he gave up to the minister of the treasury eighty or a hundred thousand francs which he received in the above manner; no very considerable sum could be produced in this way, but the fact is cited as a testimony of the national ardour.

Thus France would have had a military establishment of from eight to nine hundred thousand men, completely organized, armed and clothed, on the first of October. Hence, too, the problem of its independence consisted in being able to retard hostilities until that period; the months of May, June, July, August, and September, were necessary, but they would have sufficed. The frontiers of the empire would then have formed barriers which no human power could pass with impunity. (*See Table* B.)

IV. On the 1st June, the effective strength of the French troops under arms amounted to five hundred and fifty-

nine thousand men. (*See Tables* D *and* E.) Thus, in two months, the minister of war had levied four hundred and fourteen thousand men, making nearly seven thousand per day. Of this number, the effective of the regular army amounted to three hundred and sixty-three thousand men; that of the extraordinary army, to one hundred and ninety-six thousand men: of the effective of the line, two hundred and seventeen thousand men were under arms, clothed, instructed, and fit to enter immediately into the field. They were formed into seven grand corps, or divisions, comprising four of cavalry, and four of observation, including the army in La Vendée, distributed along the frontiers, covering the whole line: but the principal forces were cantoned within reach of Paris, and the frontier of Flanders: on the 1st of June all the troops of the line quitted the fortresses, leaving them to be guarded by the extraordinary army. The first corps, commanded by Count d'Erlon, took its cantonments in the neighbourhood of Lille; it was composed of four divisions of infantry, consisting, each, of four regiments, of one

division of light cavalry, and six batteries of artillery. The second corps, commanded by Count Reille, was cantoned round Valenciennes; it was composed in the same manner as the first corps, but a little stronger, some of the regiments having three battalions. The third corps, commanded by Count Vandamme, was united in the neighbourhood of Mezieres; it had three divisions of infantry, one of cavalry, and five batteries. The fourth corps, commanded by Count *Gerard*, was in the neighbourhood of Metz; it had three divisions of infantry, one division of light cavalry, and five batteries; one of its regiments of infantry was detached in La Vendée. The fifth corps, commanded by Count Rapp, was stationed in Alsace; it had three divisions of infantry, one division of light cavalry, and six batteries. The sixth corps, commanded by Count de Lobau, was assembled at Laon; it was composed of three divisions of infantry, one of light cavalry, and six batteries: but each of these divisions of infantry had a regiment detached in La Vendée. The seventh corps, commanded by Marshal Suchet, was at Chambery, it

was composed of two divisions of infantry of the line, of four regiments each; of two divisions of picked national guards, of eight battalions each; also a division of light cavalry, and six batteries. The first corps of observation, that of Mount Jura, commanded by General Lecourbe, was composed of a division of infantry, consisting of three regiments; two divisions of picked national guards, of eight battalions each; a division of light cavalry, and five batteries. The second corps of observation, (that of the Var,) commanded by Marshal Brune, was composed of a division of infantry, consisting of three regiments, of which two had three battalions; a regiment of cavalry, and three batteries: these regiments of infantry were taken from the 23d military division, in which they were replaced by as many battalions of Corsican volunteers. The third corps of observation, that of the eastern Pyrenees, commanded by General Decaen, was assembled at Toulouse, it was composed of a division of infantry, of three regiments, a regiment of cavalry, sixteen battalions of chosen national guards, and three batteries. The fourth

corps of observation, commanded by General Clausel, was at Bordeaux, and composed of a similar force to the preceding. These two last corps were weakened by the sending of one regiment from each into La Vendée. After having raised the imperial standard during the month of April, that province revolted in May: General Lemarque commanded the imperial army there; it was composed of eight regiments of the line, two regiments of the young guard, two regiments of cavalry, ten squadrons of gendarmerie, each of four hundred men; of twelve battalions or detachments of the line, destined for the grand divisions of the army, but which had been detained in La Vendée by the urgency of the case. The four corps of cavalry reserve, under Marshal Grouchy, were all cantoned between the Aisne and Sambre; each corps of cavalry had two batteries of light artillery, and was composed of two divisions, each division consisting of three regiments. The first corps, composed of light cavalry, was commanded by Count Pajol; the second corps, formed of dragoons, was under the orders of Count

Excelmans; the third corps, composed of cuirassiers was commanded by Count Milhaud; and the fourth corps, formed in like manner of cuirassiers, was under the orders of Count Kellerman; the imperial guard was composed of four regiments of the young guard, four of the middle guard, four of the old guard, four regiments of cavalry, and ninety-six pieces of ordnance (*see Table* F.). In the various corps of the army, the regiments had in general but two battalions, each battalion consisting of six hundred men, present and under arms; two hundred and forty men less than their regular establishment; this supplement of men was on the march to join, and would have done so, before the first of July. The 3rd, 4th, and 5th battalions, and the depôts, were put in motion from all points to assemble at Paris, Lyons, and in the western departments. The artillery prepared a new train of five hundred field guns, fit for immediate action, and having a double proportion of supplies. The two hundred select battalions of national guards, forming an effective of one hundred and twelve thousand men,

were entirely levied; one hundred and fifty battalions, making eighty-five thousand men, garrisoned the forts and fortresses on the frontiers of the empire; forty-eight battalions forming twenty-six thousand men, had been united as already observed; sixteen with the first corps of observation, that of the Jura, sixteen more with the seventh corps, and sixteen in forming a reserve on the Loire. Count Dumas had made the greatest exertions in the levying of these troops, in which service he merited well of his country. Independently of these, two hundred battalions of grenadiers and light infantry, selected from the national guards; forty-eight new battalions of national guards were levied during the month of May in Languedoc, Gascony, and Dauphiny; those of Dauphiny were in Provence, while those of Languedoc increased the strength of the third corps of observation to fifteen thousand men, which completed the defence of the Pyrenees; these forty-eight battalions were not comprehended in the return of the 1st of June, because they had not as yet quitted the chief stations of their departments; but

at the end of June they were all united at their respective destinations. Of the thirty thousand officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers, withdrawn from their retirement, twenty thousand men augmented the garrison of the fortresses, ten thousand garrisoned Marseilles, Bordeaux, and some other cities, where their presence was necessary to stimulate public spirit, and watch the evil-disposed. As to the ninety fortresses, they were armed, palisaded, provisioned, and commanded by experienced officers.

The first line of the northern frontiers, viz. Calais, Dunkirk, St. Omer, Lille, Condé, Maubeuge, and Phillippeville, were provisioned for six months, and had garrisons complete with respect to numbers, though not clothed in uniforms nor disciplined. It was the chosen national guards that formed the second line, viz. Ardres, Aires, Bethune, Douay, Valenciennes, Lequesnoy, Avesne, and Rocroi; these were provisioned for four months, but had only half their garrisons.

The third line, viz. Montreuil, Hesdin, Arras, Bouchain, Landrecy, Bapaume,

Cambray, Abbeville, Chateau d'Amiens, Peronne, Chateau de Ham, and Laon, were provisioned for three months, and had a fourth part of the garrison necessary for a regular defence.

On the frontier of the Moselle, the first line, viz. Charlemont, Mézéires, Chateau de Sedan, Chateau de Bouillon, Thionville, Sarre-Louis, and Bitche, were provisioned for four months, and had their garrisons complete.

The second line, viz. Verdun, Metz, Phalsbourg, and Toul, were provisioned for four months, and had half the number of men necessary for a regular defence.

On the frontier of Alsace, viz. Landau, Lauterbourg, Hageneau, Strasburgh, Scelestadt, Neubrisach, Huningen, were provisioned for six months, and had their garrisons complete.

On the frontier of Swisserland; viz. Béfort, Besançon, Fort l'Ecluse, and Auxonne, were provisioned for four months, and had complete garrisons.

On the frontier of the Alps; viz. Fort Barraux, Briançon, Mont Dauphin, Colmars, Entrevaux, and Antibes, were pro-

visioned for four months, and had sufficient garrisons.

On the frontiers of the Mediterranean; the forts of St. Merguirite, castle of St. Tropez, Fort Brigançon, the forts of the Isles d'Hyeres, Toulon, Fort de Boue, Aigues-Mortes, Cette, and Collivure, had garrisons sufficient to preserve them from a *coup de main*, and were partially provisioned. The batteries on the coast were armed anew; all the strong holds on the Pyrenean frontier, and the first and second lines from Perpignan to Bayonne, were also armed, provisioned, and had garrisons more or less numerous. Spain gave very little disquietude. Finally, all parts of the coast, such as Bayonne, the Chateau Trompette, the forts of the Isle d'Aix and Oleron, the Isle de Ré, Rochelle, the castle of Nantes, l'Isle Dieu, Belleisle, Brest, St. Malo, Cherbourg, Havre, and Dieppe, were all armed; they had garrisons sufficient to defend them from a *coup de main*, and a good supply of provisions. The gunners of the coasts were levied. All the English forces were employed in Belgium or America; so that no serious un-

easiness was entertained with respect to a maritime attack.

V. If hostilities, as there was some reason to fear, commenced before the autumn, the armies of Europe, acting in concert, would be much more numerous than those of France. In that case, it would be under Paris and Lyons that the destiny of the French Empire must have been decided: these two cities, as well as all the capitals of Europe, had been fortified formerly; and, like them, had ceased to be so in latter times.

However, if Vienna had been fortified in 1805, the battle of Ulm would not have decided the fate of the war: the army which General Kutusoff commanded would have awaited the arrival of the other Russian corps, which had already reached Olmultz, as well as that of Prince Charles on its way from Italy. In 1809, the Archduke Charles, who was beaten at Eckmuhl, and obliged to effect his retreat by the left bank of the Danube, would have had time to reach Vienna, and thus effect a junction with General Hiller's corps and the army of the Archduke John.

Had Berlin been fortified in 1806, the army that was beaten at Jena would have rallied there, and been joined by the Russian army.

If, in 1808, Madrid had been a place of arms, the French armies, after the victories of Espinosa, Tudella, Burgos, and Sommosiera, would not have marched on to that capital, leaving Salamanca and Valladolid, the English army of General Moore, and the Spanish forces under Romano, in its rear: in that case these two corps would have united themselves to the army of Arragon and Valencia, under the fortifications of Madrid.

The Emperor Napoleon entered Moscow in 1812. If the Russians had not resolved on burning that great city, (a resolution unexampled in history, and which they alone could execute,) its capture would have led to the submission of Russia; for the conqueror would there have found—1st, all that was necessary for the clothing and refitting his army: 2dly, provisions, wine, spirits, and every thing else required for the subsistence of a large military force: 3dly, horses to remount the cavalry: lastly, the support

of thirty thousand freed-men, sons of freed-men, or slaves enjoying considerable fortunes, all extremely impatient of the yoke of the nobility, and who would have communicated ideas of liberty and independence to the slaves: an alarming prospect, which must have induced the Czar to make peace; particularly as the Emperor's intentions were not those which have been attributed to him. The conflagration destroyed all the magazines, dispersed the population; the merchants and lower class of the inhabitants were ruined; by which that great city became a scene of disorder, anarchy, and crime. Had it been fortified, Kutusoff would have encamped under the ramparts; thus rendering its investment totally impracticable.

Constantinople, a city much more extensive than any of our modern capitals, owed its safety entirely to fortifications; without them, the empire of Constantine would have terminated in 700; thus lasting but three hundred years. The fortunate Mussen would otherwise have planted the standard of the Prophet there; this was done in 1440, about eight hundred years after; so that the above ca-

pital is indebted to its walls for an existence of eight hundred years. Besieged fifty times during the above interval, as often did it repel the assailants; at length the French and Venetians took it, but not without having encountered a most spirited resistance.

Paris owed its safety to its walls on ten or twelve different occasions. Without them it would have been a prey to the Normans:—1st, in 885, when these barbarians besieged it in vain during the two preceding years: 2dly, in 1358, at which period it was besieged, with an equal want of success, by the Dauphin; and if, some years afterwards, the inhabitants opened the gates to him, it was entirely of their own accord: 3dly, in 1359, Edward of England encamped at Montrouge, carried fire and sword under its very walls, but fell back before the fortifications, and retired to Chartres: 4thly, in 1429, Henry the Vth of England, enclosed within its walls, repelled the attacks of Charles the VIIth: 5thly, in 1464, Count de Charolais, having surrounded this capital, failed in all his efforts to reduce it: 6thly, in 1472, it was attacked by the Duke of Burgundy,

who was obliged to content himself with ravaging the surrounding country: 7thly, in 1536, the Emperor Charles Vth, master of Champagne, established his head-quarters at Meaux, while his scouts made their appearance under the ramparts of Paris, which once more owed its safety to the walls: and lastly in 1588 and 1589, Henry III. and Henry IV. failed before its fortifications; if the inhabitants opened their gates afterwards, they did so voluntarily, and in consequence of the abjuration of the besieging king at St. Denis. Finally, in 1636, and many succeeding years, the fortifications of Paris saved the inhabitants from conquest. If it had been a strong place in 1814 and the following year, capable of holding out even for eight days, what an influence might not such a circumstance have had on the events of the world!!!

A great capital is always the country of a nation's chosen bands; all the nobles have their dwellings and their families there; it is the centre of opinion, and universal depository: nothing therefore can be more contradictory to reason, or inconsistent with sound policy, than to

leave a point so truly important without the means of immediate defence. After his return from the campaign of Austerlitz, the Emperor frequently meditated on this subject, and even caused many plans to be drawn up for constructing works on the heights round Paris; but the fear of creating uneasiness amongst the inhabitants, and those events which succeeded each other with incredible rapidity, prevented him from putting his projects into execution. What! people will exclaim, would you pretend to fortify cities which are several leagues in circumference? It will require eighty or a hundred forts, a garrison of fifty or sixty thousand men, and from eight hundred to a thousand pieces of artillery to be mounted on your works. But, sixty thousand soldiers form an army; is it not better to employ such a force in line? This objection is made in general against all great fortified places, but it is extremely ill-founded, inasmuch as it confounds a soldier with an ordinary individual. It cannot be denied that the defence of a large capital requires fifty or sixty thousand men, but not fifty or sixty thousand

soldiers. In periods of political misfortunes and great national calamities, a country may want soldiers, but they are never without men for their interior defence. Fifty thousand men, including from two to three thousand gunners, will defend a capital, and defy the entry to an army of three or four hundred thousand men; whilst that number in the open field, if they are not well trained and commanded by experienced officers, would be put in disorder by a charge of three thousand cavalry. Besides, all large capitals are capable of covering a great part of their circuit by inundations, because they are generally situated on rivers, so that the ditches may be filled either by natural means, or the steam-engine. Places of the above description, that contain such numerous garrisons, have a certain number of commanding positions, without the possession of which it would be impossible to attempt entering them.

But whatever might have been the plan of the campaign adopted in 1815, or the attention paid to the arming, provisioning, and garrisoning the ninety for-

tresses on the French frontiers, if our invaders commenced hostilities before the autumn, Paris and Lyons were the two important points; whilst these were occupied in sufficient force, the country could not be lost, nor obliged to submit to the discretion of its enemies!!!

It was the General of Engineers, Haxo, who superintended the fortifications of Paris. He caused the heights of Montmartre, the inferior heights of the Mills, and the flat from the mound of Chaumont to the heights of Pere le Chaise, to be first occupied; a few days were sufficient to trace these works, and give them a defensive form. He next ordered the Canal de l'Ourq, which runs from St. Denis to the Basin of Vilette, to be completed. The directors of bridges and causeways were charged with this service, and they acquitted themselves in the execution of it, with that zeal and patriotism by which they are so peculiarly distinguished.

The earth was thrown up on the left bank to form a rampart. They constructed half-moon batteries to cover the causeways on the right bank, while St. Denis

was inundated. From the heights of Pere-la Chaise to the Seine, the right was supported by works established at L'Etoile under the cannon of Vincennes, and by redoubts in the park of Bercy; a trench of five thousand feet in length joined the barrier of the throne to the redoubt of Etoile; this was found ready constructed, the causeway was heightened and flanked by two good walls; these works were completely finished, and defended by six hundred pieces of cannon; on the 1st of June, General Haxo had traced the works of the right bank of the Seine from opposite Barey to the barrier beyond the military school; fifteen days were necessary to terminate them. This system of fortification on the two banks communicated in following the right bank of the Seine by St. Cloud, Neuilly, and St. Denis. The city being thus covered, a fort was to be constructed, enveloping the triumphal arch of L'Etoile, supporting its right by the batteries of Montmartre, and its left by works thrown up on the heights of the barrier of Passy, crossing their fires with other works established towards the military school on the other bank: lastly,

by three forts serving as retreats to the troops posted at Belleville, situated on the summit towards Paris, in such a manner, that they might rally there, and prevent the enemy when he had forced the circuit, from uncovering Paris on that side. In a plan of permanent fortifications, it would be necessary to extend the inundations on all the low grounds, and to occupy the tête-de-pont of Charenton and that of Neuilly by small forts, that is to say, the height of mount Calvary, so as to enable the army to manœuvre on both banks of the Marne and Seine. The parks of artillery for the respective banks of these rivers were separate; six, twelve, and eighteen pounders being adapted for the left side, while four, eight, sixteen, and twenty-four pounders were chosen for the right; in order to avoid the confusion likely to arise from the use of different calibres. Several generals, colonels, and a great number of artillery officers, were exclusively attached to this service, as well as two battalions of marine gunners dispatched from the coasts, forming sixteen hundred men; fourteen companies of artil-

lery of the line, forming one thousand five hundred men, and twenty companies of artillery of the national guard; numbers of volunteers from the Charenton and Polytechnic schools, together with the Lyceums; making in all, from five to six thousand exercised gunners, capable of serving a thousand pieces of cannon. Four hundred pieces of artillery, twenty-fours, eighteens, twelves, and sixes, from the naval arsenal, had arrived from Havre, and were immediately mounted on the batteries, as were also six hundred brass field-pieces: twenty field batteries with their horses, &c. forming four reserves of five batteries each, were so disposed as to be able to move easily on all the points of the line which might be menaced either on the entrenchments of Belleville, or on the banks of the Seine. Independently of these, six hundred gunners, and fifty-five thousand men, were sufficient to defend the lines; while Paris afforded the certain resource of more than one hundred thousand men, without weakening the regular army.

VI. The General of Division, Lery,

directed the works of Lyons: this fortress, situated at the confluence of the Saone and the Rhone, is strong by its position. He constructed a tête-de-pont on the left bank of the Rhone, to cover the bridge of Morand: that of the Guillotière was protected by another fort; he also established a draw-bridge on the middle arch. The suburb of the Guillotière is not comprehended within the defences of the town, but this quarter of the city is inhabited by a population full of patriotism and courage; the General therefore considered, that it ought to be covered by an assemblage or system of redoubts, which would enable the people to defend themselves for a long time. The ancient limits on the right bank of the Saone pass on the summit of several rising grounds, and over a spot called Pierre-écise; these were strengthened, as also the other points between the Saone and Rhone. The best mode of attacking Lyons is on its fronts, between the two rivers; consequently, the engineer occupied three positions with field forts, which were flanked by the last named line of defence, while they flanked each

other. One hundred and fifty pieces of naval cannon sent from Toulon, and one hundred and fifty brass field guns were mounted at different batteries. On the 25th of June, all those works were elevated, palisaded, and armed. A battalion of naval gunners six hundred strong, nine companies of artillery of the line, forming one thousand men, and nine hundred gunners taken from the national guard, Agricultural School, and the Lyceums, completed the number of gunners to two thousand five hundred, which was more than those required for the service of the guns. A numerous staff of artillery was also attached to this force, and considerable magazines of supplies were formed there. From fifteen to twenty thousand men were enough to defend Lyons; and we were certain of raising thirty thousand men, without enfeebling the troops of the line.

CHAPTER III.

PLAN OF THE CAMPAIGN.

I. Could the French army commence hostilities on the 1st of April?—II. *The three Plans of Campaign. First project: to remain on the defensive, and draw the enemy's armies towards Paris and Lyons.* III. *Second project: to assume the offensive on the 15th of June, and invade Belgium.*—IV. *Third project: to assume the offensive on the 15th of June, and, in case of any failure, to entice the enemy under Paris and Lyons.—The Emperor adopts the latter plan of operations.*

I. On the night of his arrival at Paris, the Emperor ordered General Excelmans to pursue the King's guard, at the head of three thousand cavalry, and to capture, disperse, or drive it beyond the

frontiers. But, composed as it was of such heterogeneous elements, this force had already dissolved itself. A part of it was surrounded and disarmed at Bethune, while the other portion reached Neuve Eglise, where it was disbanded by the Count d'Artois. General Excelmans took possession of all the horses, magazines, and baggage of this corps; the officers and privates, hemmed in by the peasants, threw away their uniforms, and disguised themselves in various ways to escape popular indignation. Some days afterwards Count Reille repaired to Flanders with twelve thousand men, to re-enforce the troops of Count d'Erlon, who commanded on that frontier. The Emperor then deliberated whether or not he should commence hostilities with these thirty-six thousand men, on the 1st of April, by marching on Brussels and rallying the Belgian army under his colours. The English and Prussian armies were feeble, disseminated, without order, chiefs, or a consistent plan; some of the officers were on leave of absence; the Duke of Wellington was at Vienna, and Marshal Blucher at Berlin,

The French army might reach Brussels on the 2d of April. But, in the first place, hopes were entertained of peace; France wished it, and would have loudly blamed a prematurely offensive movement: secondly, to unite from thirty-five to thirty-six thousand men, it would have been necessary to leave the twenty-three strong places from Calais to Philippeville, forming the triple line of the north, without garrisons. If the public spirit of this frontier had been as good as that which existed in Alsace, the Vosges, Ardennes, or on the Alps, this might have been done without any risk. But the minds of the people were divided in Flanders; it would therefore have been most imprudent to abandon these strong places to the local national guards; a month was requisite to levy and transfer, from the neighbouring departments, chosen battalions of national guards, to replace the troops of the line. Thirdly, the Duke d'Angoulême had marched on Lyons, and the armed force from Marseilles on Grenoble. The first news of the commencement of hostilities would have encouraged the discontented; above all,

it was essential to remove the Bourbons from the French territory and to rally the people; which did not take place before the 20th of April. [*See the documents in the Appendix.*]

II. In the course of May, when France was pacified, and when there no longer remained any hope of preserving peace externally, the armies of the different powers being on their march towards the frontiers, the Emperor meditated on the plan of campaign which he should adopt. Three presented themselves: The first was, to remain on the defensive, thus suffering the Allies to take upon themselves all the odium of a first aggression, get entangled amongst our fortresses, penetrate to Paris and Lyons, there to commence, on these two bases, a spirited and decisive war. This project possessed many advantages: 1st, the Allies could not be ready to enter the field before the 15th of July, and they would not reach the neighbourhood of Paris and Lyons before the middle of August. The 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th corps, the four corps of heavy cavalry, and the guard, would concentrate themselves under

Paris: these corps had, on the 15th of June, one hundred and forty thousand men under arms: on the 15th of August their numbers would have amounted to two hundred and forty thousand men. The first corps of observation, or of the Jura, would be concentrated under Lyons: they had, on the 15th of June, twenty-five thousand men under arms; and they would have sixty thousand men on the 15th of August. Secondly, the fortifications of Paris and Lyons would be terminated and perfect by the 15th of August. Thirdly, by that period, time would have been obtained to complete the organization and arming of the forces destined for the defence of Paris and Lyons, to reduce the national guard of Paris to eight thousand men, and to quadruple the light troops of that capital, by increasing their number to sixty thousand: these battalions having officers from the line, would be of great service; and, joined to the six thousand gunners of the line, marine and national guard, and to forty thousand men from the depôts of seventy regiments of infantry, and of the guard belonging to the army under Paris,

would increase the force destined to defend the intrenched camp of Paris to one hundred and sixteen thousand men. At Lyons, the garrison would be composed of four thousand national guards, twelve thousand light troops, two thousand gunners, and seven thousand men from the depôts of the eleven infantry regiments composing the army at Lyons, making a grand total of twenty-five thousand men. Fourthly, the hostile armies, which might penetrate to Paris by the northern and eastern departments, would be obliged to leave a hundred and fifty thousand men before the forty-two strong places of these two frontiers. Estimating at six hundred thousand men, the force of these armies, they would be reduced to four hundred and fifty thousand on their arrival before Paris. The Allies that reached Lyons would be obliged to observe the ten fortresses of the Jura and Alps: supposing their force to be a hundred and fifty thousand men, scarcely a hundred thousand of them could invest Lyons. Fifthly, in the mean time the national crisis, arrived at its height, would excite great energy in Normandy, Brit-

tany, Auvergne, Berry, &c. Numerous battalions would daily arrive at Paris. Every thing would go on augmenting on the side of France, and diminishing on that of the Allies. Sixthly, two hundred and forty thousand men under the orders of the Emperor, manœuvring on both banks of the Seine and Marne, protected by the vast entrenched camp of Paris, and guarded by a hundred and sixteen thousand stationary troops, would surely vanquish four hundred and fifty thousand enemies. Sixty thousand men, commanded by Marshal Suchet, manœuvring on each side the Rhone and Saone, protected by Lyons, with its twenty-five thousand men, must have prevailed over the invading army; and thus would the sacred cause of the country have triumphed!!!

III. The second plan was to anticipate the Allies, and to commence hostilities before they were ready; but they could not commence hostilities until the 15th of July: it was necessary therefore to take the field on the 15th of June, to beat the Anglo-Belgian army, and that of Prussia and Saxony, which were in Belgium, before the Russians, Austrians,

Bavarians, &c. &c., had arrived on the Rhine. On the 15th of June, an army of a hundred and forty thousand men might be united, in Flanders, leaving a curtain on all the frontiers, and good garrisons in each of the strong places. 1st. If the Anglo-Belgian and Prusso-Saxon armies were beaten, Belgium would revolt, and its troops recruit the French army. 2ly. The defeat of the English army must have led to the dismissal of the English ministry, whose places would no doubt have been supplied by the friends of peace, liberty, and the independence of nations; this circumstance alone would have terminated the war. 3ly. If it happened to be otherwise, the army, victorious in Belgium, re-enforced by the 5th corps that remained in Alsace, and by the re-enforcements, which the depôts could furnish in the months of June and July, would march on the Vosges against the Russian and Austrian armies. 4thly. The advantages of this project were numerous; it was conformable to the genius of the nation, and to the spirit and principles of the war; it remedied the dreadful inconvenience attached to the first project;

viz. the abandonment of Flanders, Picardy, Artois, Alsace, Loraine, Champagne, Burgundy, Franche Comté, and Dauphiny, without firing a shot. But was it possible, with a force of a hundred and forty thousand men, to beat the two armies which covered Belgium, viz. the Anglo-Belgian army, composed of a hundred and four thousand men under arms,* (*see Table G.*) and the Prusso-Saxon army of a hundred and twenty thousand men, in all two hundred and twenty-four thousand men. The force of these armies should not be estimated by a mere comparison of the number, two hundred and twenty-four thousand with a hundred and forty thousand, because the allied army was composed of troops, more or less efficient; so that an Englishman might be counted for one Frenchman, two Dutchmen, Prussians, or soldiers of the confederation, for one Frenchman. The enemies' armies were under the command of two different generals, and formed of nations divided no less by their sentiments than interests.

IV. The month of May passed in these

* Not comprehending the fourteen English regiments disembarked at Ostend from North America, or garrisoning the fortresses of Belgium.

meditations. The insurrection of La Vendée withdrew twenty thousand men from the army of Flanders, and reduced it to one hundred and twenty thousand men; this was a fatal event and greatly diminished the chances of success. But the war of La Vendée might extend. The Allies, masters of many provinces, might rally partisans for the Bourbons; though these princes were strongly disliked by France, yet the march of the enemy to Paris and Lyons would be favorable to them. On the other hand, Belgium, and the four departments of the Rhine, held forth their arms, calling loudly on their deliverer: and communications were kept up with the Belgian army; this determined the Emperor to adopt a third plan, which consisted in attacking the Anglo-Belgian and Prusso-Saxon armies on the 15th of June, and if he failed in separating and defeating them, of falling back upon Paris and Lyons. It is true, that having failed in the attack upon Belgium, the army would reach Paris much enfeebled; that the opportunity of reducing the national guard of the capital to eight thousand from thirty-six thousand, which it was, in order

to augment the number of light troops to sixty thousand, would be lost, because this operation could not be performed in the absence of Napoleon, and during the war. It is also true, that the allies who, if we waited for them, would not commence hostilities before the 15th of July, would be able to do so on the 1st of that month, in the event of their being provoked so early as the 15th of June; that their march on Paris would also be more rapid after a victory, and that the army of Flanders, reduced to one hundred and twenty thousand men, was inferior by ninety thousand men, to those of Marshal Blucher and the Duke of Wellington. But in 1814, France had, with forty thousand men under arms, made head against the army commanded by Marshal Blucher, and that under Prince Schwarzenberg, where the two Emperors and the King of Prussia were present: these armies united, were two hundred and fifty thousand strong; yet the French army, of forty thousand men defeated them frequently!! At the battle of Montmirail, the corps of Sacken, Yorck, and Kleis amounted to forty thousand men;

they were attacked, beaten, and driven beyond the Marne, by less than sixteen thousand French! Namely, the horse and foot guards, Ricard's division of eleven hundred and fifty men, and a division of cuirassiers; while Marshal Blucher with twenty thousand men, was kept in check by Marmont's corps of four thousand men; and that the army of Schwarzenberg, one hundred thousand strong, was prevented from advancing by the corps of Macdonald, Oudinot, and *Gerard*, forming altogether less than eighteen thousand men.

The Duke of Dalmatia was named Major General of the army. On the 2nd of June he issued the following order of the day, and immediately after set out from Paris to visit the fortresses in Flanders, and the army.

"The most august of ceremonies has just consecrated our institutions. The Emperor has received from the envoys of the people, and deputations sent from all the armies, the expression of their sentiments and wishes respecting the additional act, which had been sent for acceptation; and a new oath unites France

and the Emperor. Thus the destinies are propitious; and all the efforts of an impious league can no longer separate the interests of the great people, and of the Hero, whose brilliant triumphs have attracted the admiration of the universe.

"It is, at a moment when the national will manifests itself with so much energy, that cries of war are heard: it is when France is at peace with all Europe, that foreign armies advance on our frontiers: what then are the hopes of this new coalition? Does it wish to extirpate France from the rank of nations? Does it wish to plunge twenty-eight millions of Frenchmen into a degrading servitude? Has it forgotten that the first league that was formed against our independence, tended to our aggrandizement and our glory? A hundred brilliant victories, which momentary reverses, and untoward circumstances have not been able to efface, ought to remind it, that a free nation, conducted by a great man, is invincible.

"Every Frenchman is a soldier when national honour and liberty are in question: at present, a common interest unites us all. The engagements which violence

ravished from us, are destroyed by the flight of the Bourbons from the French territory; by the appeal they have made to foreign nations to remount the throne which they have abandoned; and by the unanimous will of the nation which, in resuming its rights, has solemnly disavowed all that has been done without its participation.

"The French cannot receive laws from foreigners; even those who have gone to beg a parricidal succour, will not delay to recognise and prove like their predecessors, that contempt and infamy follow their steps, and that they cannot wash away the opprobrium with which they cover themselves, except by re-entering our ranks.

"But a new career of glory opens itself before the army. History will consecrate the military exploits which shall have illustrated the defenders of the country and of the national honour. It is said the enemies are numerous: what matters it to us? It will be more glorious to conquer them, and their defeat will be the more splendid. The struggle in which we are about to engage is not above the

genius of Napoleon, nor beyond our own strength; do we not see all the departments, rivalling each other in enthusiasm and devotion, form, as it were by enchantment, five hundred superb battalions of national guards, which are already come to double our ranks, to defend our fortresses, and to associate themselves with the glory of the army? This is the impulse of a generous people which no power can conquer and which posterity will admire. To arms!

"The signal will soon be given; let every one be at his post; our victorious phalanxes are about to derive new splendour from the number of our enemies. Soldiers, Napoleon guides our steps: we fight for the independence of our beautiful country: we are invincible!"

CHAPTER IV.

OPENING OF THE CAMPAIGN IN JUNE 1815.

I.—State and position of the French Army on the 14th of June at night.—II. *State and position of the Anglo-Belgian and Prusso-Saxon Armies.*—III. *Manœuvres and Battles on the 15th.*—IV. *Position of the belligerent Armies on the 15th at night.*

I. The 4th corps, commanded by Count *Gerard*,* set out from Metz on the 6th of June, passed the Meuse and arrived at Philippeville on the 14th. Count Belliard assumed the command of Metz

* Lieut. General Count *Gerard* commanded the 4th corps, and Lieut. General Count Girard, the 3rd division of the 2nd corps. To avoid confusion, we shall give the title of Count to General *Gerard*, and put his name in italics, giving the title of General to General Girard, and printing his name in roman characters.

and the frontier of the Sarre; he took care to mask the movement of the 4th corps, by occupying the frontier with detachments from the battalions of the chosen national guard, taken from the garrisons of Metz, Longwy, Sarre-Louis, &c. and by the free corps already clothed and organized, levied in these departments. The imperial guard quitted Paris on the 8th of June, and marched towards Avesne. The 1st corps set out from the neighbourhood of Lille, and the 2nd from Valenciennes to occupy a station between Maubeuge and Avesne. The garrisons of all the strong places, from Dunkirk inclusively, masked this movement by placing strong detachments in such positions, that when the cantonments of this frontier were centralised, the advanced posts became tripled; and the enemy deceived, imagined that all the army formed a junction on the left. The 6th corps set out from Laon, and marched on Avesne; while the 4th corps of cavalry of reserve concentrated itself on the Sambre.

The Emperor set out from Paris on the 12th in the morning, breakfasted at Soissons, slept at Laon, gave his last orders

for the arming of that place, and arrived at Avesne on the 13th. On the 14th at night the army encamped in three directions: the left, more than forty thousand strong, composed of the 2nd and 1st corps, on the right bank of the Sambre, at Ham-sur-Heure, and Solre-sur-Sambre; the centre, more than sixty thousand strong, composed of the 3rd and 6th corps of the imperial guard and of the reserves of cavalry, at Beaumont, where the head-quarters were established; the right, more than fifteen thousand strong, formed of the 4th corps, and a division of cuirassiers, in front of Philippeville. The camps were established behind small hills, a league from the frontier, in such a way that the fires were not perceived by the enemy, who in fact had no knowledge of the encampment. On the 14th at night, the returns proved that the force of the army was one hundred and twenty-two thousand four hundred men, and three hundred and fifty pieces of cannon; as follows:

Left wing on the right of the Sambre.	*Centre at Beaumont.*	*Left wing in front of Philippeville.*
2d Corps: 19,800 Infantry; 1,400 Cavalry; 1,564 Artil. Eng. Trains. (45 guns)	3d Corps: 13,200 Infantry; 1,400 Cavalry; 1,292 Artil. Engin. Equip. (38 guns)	4th Corps: 12,100 Infantry; 1,400 Cavalry; 1,292 Art. Engin. Equip. (38 guns)
1st Corps: 17,600 Infantry; 1,400 Cavalry; 1,564 Artil. Eng. Trains. (46 guns)	6th Corps: 9,900 Infantry; 1,400 Cavalry; 1,292 Artil. Engin. Equip. (38 guns)	Cavalry detached from the 4th Corps of Reserve of Cavalry: 1,400 Cavalry; 150 Artillery Equip. (6 guns)
	Imperial Guard: 12,000 Infantry; 4,000 Cavalry; 2,400 Artil. Engin. Equip. (96 guns)	
	Reserve of Caval. — 1st Corps: 2,500 Cavalry; 300 Artillery Equip. (12 guns)	
	Reserve of Caval. — 2d Corps: 2,500 Cavalry; 300 Artillery Equip. (12 guns)	
	Reserve of Caval. — 3e Corps: 3,200 Cavalry; 300 Artillery Equip. (12 guns)	
	Reserve of Caval. — 4th Corps: 1,900 Cavalry; 150 Artillery Equip. (12 guns)	
	Grand park troops of Artil. Engineers Trains, Military Equipages: 5,600	
Total Force.....43,328 men	Total Force 63,734 men.	Total Force...16,642 men.

	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Artill. Engin. Milit. Equip.
Left wing.....	37,400	2,800	3,128
Center.....	35,100	16,000	11,634
Right wing.....	12,100	2,800	1,442
Total of each army.....	84,600	21,600	16,204 (*See the note.*)

Grand Total .....122,404 men, and 350 guns.

Note.—The gunners, soldiers of the artillery train, pontonners, sappers, miners, waggon-train, that is to say, those who conduct the provisions, travelling-hospitals, &c. are comprehended in this number, all being regimented in France. The only persons not comprehended are the officers' grooms and postillions; these individuals not being paid by the state. Fifteen years ago, the artillery-drivers, those of the provision-waggons, and the baggage of every kind, hospital-attendants, &c. were not included in the returns, being paid and clothed by the contractors, and not by the state: this made a difference of a twentieth in the general returns. An army, which is, at present, stated in the general returns, to amount to one hundred and twenty thousand men, would then have been returned, as amounting to one hundred and fourteen thousand only: this is the case with the English. Thus, an English army, stated in its returns to amount to one hundred and fourteen thousand men, would, in point of fact, consist of one hundred and twenty thousand. In this campaign there were forty-six artillery men or engineers (comprehending the trains of these two branches, and of the military equipages,) to every gun; viz. thirty-four to each, with corps of the army, and twelve with the park of artillery. The staff of the artillery, that of the engineers, the gunners who serve the field-pieces, soldiers of the train who conduct them, and the artillery carriages, the sappers, miners, and workmen, and two companies of military equipages attached to each grand corps, are included in the first number. The pontonners, builders of bridges, workmen of the parks, soldiers of the train attached to the stores of double supplies, to the ammunition carts and other carriages of the parks. The reserve of the sappers and miners, the workmen of the engineer department, and the companies of military

On the evening of the 14th, the Emperor issued the following order of the day: "Soldiers! this is the anniversary of Marengo, and of Friedland. Then, as after Austerlitz and Wagram, we were too generous! We gave credit to the protestations and oaths of the princes, whom we suffered to remain on their thrones! Now however, coalesced between themselves, they aim at the independence and at the most sacred rights of France. They have commenced the most unjust of aggressions.—Are we no longer the same men?

"Soldiers, at Jena, when fighting against these very Prussians, now so arrogant, you were as one to two, and at Montmirail, as one to three.

"Let those amongst you, who have been in the hands of the English, recite the story of their prison ships, and the evils which they suffered in them.

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equipages of reserve, are counted in the second number: so that this army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, consisted really of no more than one hundred and fourteen thousand combatants, and three hundred and fifty pieces of cannon.

"The Saxons, Belgians and Hanoverians, the soldiers of the Rhenish confederation, groan at the thought of being obliged to lend their arms to the cause of princes, enemies of justice, and of the rights of nations. They know that this coalition is insatiable! after having DEVOURED TWELVE-MILLIONS OF POLES, TWELVE MILLIONS OF ITALIANS, A MILLION OF SAXONS, SIX MILLIONS OF BELGIANS; IT WILL, IF PERMITTED, ALSO DEVOUR THE STATES OF THE SECOND CLASS IN GERMANY.

"Fools that they are! a moment of prosperity blinds them. The oppression and the humiliation of the French people are out of their power! If they enter France, there will they find their tomb.

"Soldiers! we have forced marches to make, battles to wage, perils to encounter; but with constancy, the victory will be ours: the rights, the honour of the country, will be reconquered.

"For every Frenchman who possesses a heart, the moment has now arrived either to conquer or perish!"

II. On the night of the 14th, the enemy's armies were very tranquil in their

cantonments. The Prusso-Saxon army formed the left, and the Anglo-Belgian army the right. The first, commanded by Marshal Blucher, was one hundred and twenty thousand strong, viz. eighty-five thousand infantry, twenty thousand cavalry, fifteen thousand artillery, engineers, and military attendants, and three hundred pieces of cannon. It was divided into four corps. The first, commanded by General Zietten, was connected with the English cantonments, bordered the Sambre, having its head-quarters at Charleroi, and Fleurus for its point of concentration. The second, under the orders of General Pirch, was cantoned on the frontier, in the neighbourhood of Namur, which was also its point of concentration. The third, commanded by General Thielman, bordered the Meuse, in the environs of Dinant, and was to concentrate itself at Ciney. Lastly, the fourth corps, under the orders of General Bulow, was behind the three first, with its head-quarters at Liège. Thus, it would take each corps half a day to concentrate. The whole army was to assemble in the rear of Fleurus. The

first corps was already there; the second had eight leagues to march from Namur; the third had fourteen leagues to march from Ciney, while the fourth had sixteen to march from Ham. The head-quarters of Marshal Blucher were at Namur, distant sixteen leagues from that of the Duke of Wellington, which was at Brussels.

The Anglo-Belgian army, under the Duke of Wellington, was formed of twenty-four brigades, of which, nine were English, ten German,* five Dutch and Belgian; of eleven divisions of cavalry, composed of sixteen English regiments, nine German,† and six Dutch,

* Viz. 2 Germanic Legions, in the pay of England.
5 Hanoverian.
1 of Nassau.
2 of Brunswick.
10

† Viz. 5 Germanic Legions.
3 Hanoverian.
1 of Brunswick.
9

making a grand total of 104,000 men, namely:

English	37,000	22,000 Infantry.	
		10,000 Cavalry.	
		5,000 Artillery, Engineers, Trains, &c.	
Germans	42,000	32,000 Infantry.	16,000 Hanoverians.
			6,000 German Legion.
			4,000 Nassau.
			6,800 Brunswickers.
		6,800 Cavalry.	2,000 Hanoverians.
			3,000 German Legion.
			1,800 Brunswickers.
		3,200 Artillery, Engineers, Military Equipages.	
Dutch and Belgians	25,000	19,000 Infantry.	
		2,000 Cavalry.	
		3,000 Artillery, Engineers, Military Equipages.	
Total of each branch		73,000 Infantry.	
		20,000 Cavalry.	
		11,200 Artillery, having 250 Guns, Engineers, Military Equipages.	
Grand Total		104,200	

men, not including eight English regiments from America, disembarked at Ostend; an English regiment at Nieuport,

a battalion of veterans at Ostend, and the 9th, 25th, 29th, and 37th English regiments, in the strong holds of the Belgian frontier, where considerable bodies of militia had been united. The nine English brigades, the five Hanoverian brigades, and the two brigades of the German Legion, formed six divisions, called English. The five Dutch brigades, and the brigade of Nassau, formed three, called Belgian; the troops of Brunswick formed one. These ten divisions were formed into two grand corps of infantry. The first, under the orders of the Prince of Orange, whose head-quarters were at Braine-le-Comte, was composed of five divisions, of which two were English, namely, a division of the guards, and the third division; the others were the three Belgian divisions. Their points of reunion were Enghien, Soignes, Braine-le-Comte, and Nivelles. The second corps, commanded by Lord Hill, whose head-quarters were at Brussels, was composed of five divisions, four English, and that of the Brunswick troops, their points of reunion were Brussels, Alt, Halle, and Ghent. Lord Uxbridge commanded the

cavalry; his point of reunion was Grammont. The general park was cantoned round Ghent. It required half a day for each division to join at its point of reunion. The point of concentration for the army was Quatre Bras, in order to be two leagues on the right of the Prussian army. There was, from the head-quarters of the Prince of Orange to Quatre Bras, a distance of six leagues; from Nivelles, two leagues and a half; from Enghein, thirteen leagues; from Soignes, eleven leagues; from Brussels, the principal head-quarters of the army, eight leagues; from Ghent, seventeen leagues; from Grammont, thirteen leagues; and from Ath, thirteen leagues. Two whole days would therefore be necessary, for the assembly of the two armies on the same field of battle: united, they presented a force of two hundred and twenty-four thousand men, namely:

	Anglo-Belgian.	Prusso-Saxons.	Total.		
Infantry	73,000	85,000	158,000	224,200 men.	Without reckoning 14 English regiments at Ostend, in the fortresses.
Cavalry	20,000	20,000	40,000		
Artillery	11,200	15,000	26,200		
	Cannon, 255 pieces.	288 pieces of cannon.	543 pieces of cannon.		

In the night, between the 14th and 15th, confidential messengers returned to the French head-quarters at Beaumont, and

announced, that every thing was tranquil at Namur, Brussels, and Charleroi; this was a happy presage. To have thus succeeded in concealing the movements which the French army made for two days from the enemy, was to have already obtained a great advantage. The Prussian army found itself obliged to establish a point of assembly further back than Fleurus, or to give battle in that position, without being able to receive any support from the Anglo-Belgian army.

The characters of the generals-in-chief of the enemy's forces, was very different. The hussar habits of Marshal Blucher, his activity and adventurous spirit, contrasted strongly with the circumspect movements and slow marches of the Duke of Wellington. If the Prusso-Saxon army was not the first attacked, it would proceed with more activity and eagerness to the succour of the English army, than the English army would towards it. All the measures of Napoleon were therefore first directed against the Prussians.

III. The three French columns commenced their march at day-break on the

15th. The advanced guard of the left, formed by Prince Jerome's division of the second corps, on leaving its camp, met the advanced guard of the Prussian corps of General Zietten; routed it, took possession of the bridge of Marchiennes, and made five hundred prisoners; the Prussian advanced guard rallied on Charleroi. The corps of cavalry under General Pajol, forming the advanced guard of the centre, commenced its march at three in the morning; it was to be sustained by General Vandamme's corps of infantry. As, between Beaumont and Charleroi, there is no road to facilitate the march of troops, and only bad cross-ways, where defiles are found at almost every step; the third corps had been encamped a league and a half on the right of Beaumont. At six o'clock in the morning, Count Vandamme was still in his camp, although he should have set out from it at the same time as the cavalry of Pajol. The Emperor perceiving this delay, took the advance with his guard, and entered Charleroi at noon, preceded by the light cavalry of Pajol, which followed the enemy sword in

hand. The corps of General Vandamme did not arrive there before three o'clock in the afternoon. The right, commanded by Count *Gerard*, surprized the bridge of Chatelet at an early hour; the whole column arrived in the evening. From Charleroi to Brussels the distance is fourteen leagues; the road passes by Gosselies, Frasnes, Quatre Bras, Genappe, and Waterloo. Not far from Charleroi, another causeway turns to the right, and passes by Gilly towards Namur, distant eight leagues from Charleroi. The corps of Zietten, informed by its hussars of the movement of the French army, evacuated Charleroi hastily by these two routes; one division retired by the Brussels road, and halted at Gosselies; another took the route of Namur, and halted at Gilly. General Pajol followed the enemy on the route of Namur; General Clary, with a brigade of hussars, pursued it on that of Brussels. The troops skirmished on both these routes; General Clary, not being sufficiently strong, was supported by General Lefebvre Desnouettes, with the light cavalry of the guard and its two batteries.

Duhesme's division of the young foot guards was placed in reserve behind Pajol's cavalry, and he detached a regiment to post itself half way between Charleroi and Gosselies, serving as a reserve to the cavalry of General Lefebvre Desnouettes. Count Reille passed the Sambre over the bridge of Marchiennes, and marched on Gosselies to gain the route of Brussels, and thence to push on to Quatre Bras.

General Count D'Erlon, was ordered to support General Reille. Marshal Grouchy, as soon as he had passed Charleroi with the reserve of cavalry which were followed by the third corps, marched on Gilly, which General Zietten evacuated, to take post between it and Fleurus, backed by a wood. General Reille took possession of Gosselies after a slight resistance. Marshal Ney had just arrived on the field of battle. The Emperor immediately ordered him to proceed to Gosselies, to take the command of all the left wing, composed of the second and first corps of the division of cavalry of Lefebvre Desnouettes, and of General Kellerman's corps of heavy

cavalry, forming in all forty-seven thousand men. The Marshal was to attack whatever troops he met on the road from Gosselies to Brussels, and to take post across that route beyond Quatre Bras; keeping military possession of the ground by placing strong advanced guards on the road to Brussels, Namur, and Nivelles. The division of General Zietten's corps, which had defended Gosselies, retired by a wheel to the left on Fleurus; Count Reille caused it to be followed by the third division which General Girard commanded; and with his cavalry and three other divisions, marched on Quatre Bras. Prince Bernard, of Saxony, commanded a brigade of four thousand men of the troops of Nassau, forming the second brigade of the third Belgian division. As soon as he heard the report of cannon in the direction of Charleroi, and that he was informed of the retreat of General Zietten, he marched on Frasne, and posted himself before Quatre Bras, across the road to Brussels. General Lefebvre Desnouettes after a slight cannonade, having threatened to turn and cut him off from Quatre Bras, obliged

the Prince to retreat, and he accordingly took post between Quatre Bras and Genappe.

Count Reille, marched unopposed with his infantry to encamp beyond Quatre Bras, where he was rejoined by Marshal Ney, who, having heard the cannonade on Fleurus, and received the report of General Girard, that there were considerable forces in that direction, thought it prudent to take post; his advanced guard at Frasne having out-posts near Quatre Bras.

The corps of Vandamme and Grouchy were united at Gilly; deceived by false reports they lost two hours, in the belief that two hundred thousand Prussians were behind the woods and in front of Fleurus. The Emperor went himself to reconnoitre the enemy, and judging that these woods were not occupied by more than two divisions of the corps of Zietten, amounting to, from eighteen to twenty thousand men, he gave immediate orders for the troops to march forward. The enemy retreated, and was vigorously pursued. A charge of the four squadrons on duty conducted by

General Letort, pierced through two squares, destroyed the twenty-eighth Prussian regiment; but the intrepid Letort was mortally wounded. This general was one of our most distinguished cavalry officers. It was impossible for any one to possess more bravery, nor had he an equal in the art of conducting a charge, or communicating the electric spark to the men as well as to the horses; at his voice and example, the most timid became the most intrepid. At night, the corps of Vandamme and of Grouchy took up a position in the woods of Trichenaye and Lambusart, near Fleurus.

IV. During the night, between the 15th and 16th, the French head-quarters were at Charleroi; that of Marshal Blucher at Namur; the Duke of Wellington's at Brussels. The first corps of the Prusso-Saxon army, commanded by General Zietten, enfeebled by the loss of two thousand men, which it had sustained during the day, was concentrated on the heights behind Fleurus, occupying that village by a detachment. The second corps, which had assembled at Namur, marched all night to join the

first at Sombref. The third corps had re-assembled one part at Namur, and the other at Ciney. The first part marched all night, and arrived at Sombref on the morning of the 16th; the second could not arrive before the afternoon of the 16th, during the battle. The fourth corps, commanded by General Bulow, not having received the order to concentrate itself until very late, owing to the distance, could not commence its march before the 16th; and did not arrive at Gembloux, two leagues from Sombref, until after the battle, on the night between the 16th and 17th.

On the 15th, at seven o'clock in the evening, the Duke of Wellington received a despatch from Marshal Blucher, announcing to him, that "hostilities had commenced, and that a strong French reconnoitring party had sabred some of his advanced posts." This did not appear to the English general as requiring any other precaution, than giving an order to all the line to be on its guard. At eleven o'clock at night, a second despatch from Marshal Blucher, brought him intelligence that the French had entered

Charleroi at eleven o'clock on the morning of the 15th, and that they continued to march in order of battle on Brussels; that all the space comprehended between Marchiennes, Charleroi, and the Chatelet, was covered with bridges and troops; that the French army was one hundred and fifty thousand strong; and that the Emperor was at its head." On this intelligence being communicated to him, the Duke of Wellington immediately despatched an order to all the army to break up its cantonments, assemble each division at the point of concentration, there to await fresh orders. The third Belgian division, which was the only division of the Anglo-Belgian army that occupied cantonments within six leagues of Quatre Bras, was the only one that could arrive there on the morning of the 16th. Four other divisions, which were less than nine leagues distant, might arrive there in the evening of the same day; but the rest of the army, being distant twelve, thirteen, fourteen, seventeen, and nineteen leagues, could not unite themselves at that point before the 16th at night, and the 17th during the day.

The artillery and the cavalry were in this predicament; and when united, even at Quatre Bras, the Anglo-Belgian army would still be two leagues distant from Fleurus. The troops having been called out during the night at Brussels, the Brunswick, and the fifth English division which were there, commenced their march for Quatre Bras early in the morning.

The French army passed the night in three columns; the left commanded by Marshal Ney, had its head-quarters at Gosselies, its out-posts on Quatre Bras, and its advanced guard at Frasne. The second corps was between Frasne and Gosselies, having as an advanced guard, General Girard's division at its right on the route to Fleurus. The first corps in columns, from Marchiennes to Gosselies; the centre composed of the reserve of cavalry, and the third corps was encamped in the woods between Fleurus and Charleroi; the guard was in columns on the route from Charleroi to Gilly, and the sixth corps in front of Charleroi. The third column forming the right, was in front of the bridge of the Chatelet. All the

army was united, having passed the Sambre on three bridges, the left, on that of Marchiennes, two thousand toises,* from that of Charleroi, on which the centre passed; and this at three thousand toises from the bridge of the Chatelet, on which the right had passed.

The French army bivouacked on the night between the 15th and 16th, in a square of four leagues; it was equally in its power to press on the Prusso-Saxon, or on the Anglo-Belgian army, being already placed between them. The two armies of the enemy were surprised, and their communications already very much restrained. All the Emperor's manœuvres had succeeded to his wishes; he had it thenceforth in his power to attack the armies of the enemy in detail. To avoid this misfortune, the greatest that could befal them, the only means they had left, was to abandon the ground, and assemble at Brussels or beyond that city.

* The French toise is equal to about six feet three inches English measurement.—*Ed.*

CHAPTER V.

BATTLE OF LIGNY.

I. *March of the French Army to engage the Prusso-Saxon Army.*—II. *Battle of Ligny on the* 16*th of June.*—III. *Battle of Quatre Bras on the* 16*th of June.*—VI. *Position of the Armies on the Night between the* 16*th and* 17*th of June.*—V. *Their manœuvres on the* 17*th.*—VI. *Their position on the Night between the* 17*th and* 18*th of June.*

I. Marshal Ney received an order in the night, to push on at day-break of the 16th, beyond Quatre Bras; and occupy a good cavalry position on the Brussels road, guarding the causeways of Nivelles and Namur, by his flankers on the right and left. Count Flahaut, aide-de-camp General, was the bearer of these orders,

and remained all the day with the Marshal. General Girard's division, the third of the second corps, which was in observation opposite Fleurus, was ordered to remain in its position, that it might act under the immediate orders of the Emperor, who, with the centre and right of the army marched to engage the Prussian army, before its fourth corps, commanded by General Bulow, had joined, and ere the Anglo-Belgian army assembled on its right.

The skirmishers met at the village of Fleurus. After some discharges of artillery those of the enemy fell back on their army, which was then perceived in order of battle; the left at the village of Sombref, formed across the causeway of Namur; the centre at Ligny, the right at St. Amand, the reserves on the heights of Bry, occupying a line of three thousand toises. The French army halted and formed; it was now ten o'clock in the morning. The third corps in front of Fleurus, having Girard's division twelve hundred toises on its right, and the fourth corps in the centre; Marshal

Grouchy with the cavalry corps of Pajol and Excelmans forming the right; the guard, cavalry, infantry, artillery, and Milhaud's cuirassiers formed a second line on the curtain which commands the plain behind Fleurus.

The Emperor, accompanied by a few attendants, visited the chain of out-posts mounted on the heights, and windmills, and attentively reconnoitred the position of the enemy's army. It presented a force certainly exceeding eighty thousand men. Its front was covered by a deep ravine, and its right uncovered. The line of battle was perpendicular to the causeway of Namur, Quatre Bras, and in the direction of Sombref to that of Gosselies; the point of Quatre Bras was perpendicular behind the middle of the line. It is evident that Marshal Blucher did not expect to be attacked on that day; he thought there would be time to complete the assembling of his troops, and that he would be supported on his right by the Anglo-Belgian army, which was to march on Quatre Bras by the causeways of Brussels and Nivelles on the 17th.

A staff-officer of the left reported, that when Marshal Ney was about to march to the position in front of Quatre Bras, he had been stopped by the cannonade which was heard on his right flank, and by the reports he had received, that the Anglo-Belgian and Prusso-Saxon armies, had already effected their junction in the environs of Fleurus; that under these circumstances, if he continued the above movement he would be turned; that he was, however, ready to execute the orders which the Emperor might send him, when the latter was informed of this new incident. The Emperor blamed him for having already lost eight hours; what he pretended to be a new incident, had existed since the evening before: he therefore reiterated the order to push on beyond Quatre Bras, and directed, that as soon as the Marshal took position, he should detach a column of eight thousand infantry, with Lefebvre Desnouettes's division of cavalry and twenty-eight pieces of cannon, by the causeway of Quatre Bras to Namur; that it should quit this causeway, at the village of Marchais, to attack the heights of Bry, on the

rear of the enemy's army; this detachment gone, there would still remain thirty-two thousand men, and eighty pieces of cannon, in his position at Quatre Bras,* which was sufficient to keep the cantonments of the English army that might arrive during the 16th in check. Marshal Ney received this order at half past eleven o'clock; he was then near Frasne with his advanced guard, and ought to have taken his position beyond Quatre Bras, at noon; but, from that point to the heights of Bry, there is a distance of 4,000 toises; the column detached into the rear of Marshal Blucher, ought therefore to reach the village of Marchais before two o'clock. The line occupied by the army near Fleurus was not offen-

* Force of the left wing on the 16th, day break.

	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Artillery.	Pieces of cannon.
2d Corps, 3 Divisions	16,000	1,400	1,292	38
1er Corps, 4 Divisions	16,500	1,400	1,564	46
Kellerman's Cuirassiers	"	3,000	300	12
Guard, Lefebvre Desnouettes	"	2,000	300	12
	32,500	7,800	3,456	108
			43,756 men.	108

Detachment ordered to be made.	Infantry	8,000	10,844 men.	28 pieces of cannon.
	Cavalry	2,000		
	Artillery	844		
Force remaining...	Infantry	24,500	31,352 men.	80 pieces of cannon.
	Cavalry	5,800		
	Artillery	1,052		

N. B. Independently of 5,800 men at the park of Charleroi.

sive, a part of it being masked; so that the Prussian army ought to have felt no uneasiness.

II. But, at two o'clock, the Emperor ordered a change of front on Fleurus, with the right in advance. This manœuvre brought the third corps to within two cannon ranges of St. Amand; the fourth to within two ranges of Ligny; and the right to within an equal distance of Sombref. General Girard with the third division of the second corps, was on the right and at the extremity of the Prussian army. The ravine which covered the front of the enemy's position, commenced between the third corps and Girard's division, in such a manner that this division was on the left bank of the ravine. The cavalry and guard of Milhaud executed the same manœuvre, and formed a second line, six hundred toises behind the third and fourth corps. The sixth corps, which was marching from Charleroi, received an order to accelerate its speed, and to take post, as a general reserve, beyond Fleurus. Every thing indicated the ruin of the Prussian army. Count *Gerard*, having approached the

Emperor, to ask for some instructions respecting the attack of the village of Ligny, the latter observed, "the fate of the war may be decided in three hours. If Ney executes his orders well, not a gun of the Prussian army will escape; it is taken *flagranti delicto*."*

At three o'clock in the afternoon, the third corps attacked the village of St. Amand. In a quarter of an hour afterwards, the fourth corps attacked that of Ligny, while Marshal Grouchy drove back the left of the Prussian army. All the positions and houses situated on the right of the ravine were carried, and the enemy's army thrown on the left bank. The remainder of the third corps of the Prussian army arrived during the battle, through Sombref; this increased the force of the

* The French army at Ligny consisted of 71,000 men and 240 pieces of cannon, viz.

	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Artillery.	Pieces of cannon.
Girard's Division, 2d Corps,	5,000	"	270	8
3d Corps	13,000	1,400	1,290	38
4th Corps	12,000	1,400	1,290	38
6th Corps	9,500	1,400	1,290	38
Guard	11,500	2,000	2,100	82
Pajol's Corps of Cavalry ..	"	2,500	300	12
Excelmans' Ditto.....	"	2,600	300	12
Milhaud's Ditto	"	3,000	300	12
	51,000	14,300	7,140	240
Total .	71,940 men.		240 pieces of cannon.	

enemy's army to ninety thousand men. The French army, including the sixth corps, which remained constantly in reserve, was seventy thousand men; less than sixty thousand men engaged the enemy. The village of Ligny was taken and retaken four times. It was here that Count *Gerard* acquired such imperishable glory, displaying no less intrepidity than talent. The attack was more feeble at St. Amand, which was also taken and retaken; but it was carried by General Girard, who, having received an order to advance by the left of the ravine with his division, the third of the second corps, manifested that intrepidity, of which he had given so many examples in his previous military career. He overthrew all who attempted to oppose his march, by the bayonet, and had taken possession of half the village, when he fell mortally wounded. The third corps maintained itself on the other side of St. Amand. It was now half past five o'clock; the Emperor made the infantry of the guard execute various manœuvres, with a view of approaching Ligny, when General Vandamme sent information that

a column of thirty thousand men, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, advanced on Fleurus; that it had at first been taken for the column detached from the left, but that, in addition to its being much stronger, it came by a different route; that General Girard's troops had recognised it as an enemy, and had in consequence abandoned the extremity of the village, taking post at the wood to cover Fleurus; that even the third corps was staggered by its appearance; and that if the reserve did not advance to stop its progress, he would be obliged to evacuate St. Amand, keeping up a running fire as he withdrew. The manœuvre of this column appeared inexplicable. It must have passed between Marshal Ney and Marshal Blucher, or otherwise, between Quatre Bras and Charleroi. However, the information being repeated, the Emperor suspended the march of the guard, and sent his aide-de-camp General Dejean a confidential officer, to reconnoitre the number, force, and intentions of the strange column. An hour afterwards, this supposed English column was ascertained to be that of Count d'Erlon, who

having been left in reserve two leagues and a half from Quatre Bras, hastened to support the attack of St. Amand; that the division of Girard, when undeceived, had resumed its position, and the third corps its confidence. The guard then continued its movement upon Ligny, General Pecheux at the head of his division passed the ravine, supported by Count *Gerard*'s division, the infantry, cavalry, artillery, and Milhaud's cuirassiers. All the reserves of the enemy were repulsed by the bayonet, the centre of his line was pierced, forty pieces of cannon, eight colours or standards, a great number of prisoners, were the trophies of this day. Marshal Grouchy, Generals Excelmans and Pajol, excited admiration by their intrepidity. General Monthion was in the night charged with the pursuit of the Prussian left wing. In the official reports, the enemy estimated his loss at twenty-five thousand men killed, wounded or prisoners, without reckoning twenty thousand men, who disbanded themselves and ravaged the banks of the Meuse to Liege. The guard and the sixth corps suffered no loss; but the

fourth corps and General Excelmans' corps of cavalry, as also that of General Pajol, suffered considerably. The loss sustained by the third corps was by no means so great. Girard's division of the second corps was that which suffered most. The total loss was nearly six thousand nine hundred and fifty men killed or wounded.*. Many of the enemy's generals were killed or wounded. Marshal Blucher was thrown down by a charge of cuirassiers, and trampled on by the horses; but the cuirassiers continued their charge without seeing him. It was already night; by which circumstance, this officer bruised and maimed, succeeded in saving himself. The disproportion between the losses of the Prussian and French armies, arose from two principal causes: *viz.* 1st. The reserves of the French army were kept out of the reach of the enemy's cannon,

* Loss of the French army at Ligny :—

2d Corps Girard's Division	1,900	6,950 men.
3d Corps	1,800	
4th Corps	2,300	
1st Corps of Cavalry	200	
2d Ditto	400	
4th Ditto	150	
Guard	200	

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during the whole of the engagement. 2dly. The third and fourth corps, which were in the first line, were masked by inequalities of ground, whilst the Prussian soldiers were heaped together in large masses on the amphitheatre of hills, which runs from St. Amand and Ligny, to the heights of Bry. All the bullets from the French batteries which missed the first lines, struck the reserves, not a single shot was thrown away. General Girard had distinguished himself at the passage of the Tesino in 1800, he contributed much to our gaining the battle of Lutzen in 1813; one of the most intrepid soldiers of the French army, this officer possessed the sacred fire in a pre-eminent degree. The Emperor, satisfied with Count *Gerard* who commanded the fourth corps, intended to have given him a marshal's staff, and regarded him as one of the hopes of France.

III. The Prince of Orange, whose head-quarters were at Braine le Compte, did not receive the Duke of Wellington's order to unite his troops before day-break on the 16th. He then marched with the second brigade of the third

Belgian division to Quatre Bras, to support one of the brigades commanded by Prince Bernard of Saxony, who, after having defended Frasne, had taken post between Quatre Bras and Genappe. Since the 15th, the Prince of Orange had remained on this important position all the morning, with eight or nine thousand Belgians or troops of Nassau, infantry, cavalry, and artillery. He knew that all the cantonments of the Anglo-Belgian army had moved, and directed their march on Quatre Bras, by the roads of Brussels and Nivelles. He also felt the importance of this position; for if the Allies lost it, all their cantonments, coming by the causeway of Nivelles, would be obliged to effect their junction by the cross road, and in the rear of Genappe. If, therefore, Marshal Ney had executed his orders, and marched on Quatre Bras with his forty-three thousand men* at day-break on the 16th, he would have taken possession of this position, and easily routed the enemy's division with

* See the table showing the nature and composition of these forty-three thousand, seven hundred and fifty-six men, in page 95.

his numerous cavalry and light artillery; what is still more, he would have been enabled to attack the divisions of the English army on their march, and while isolated on the causeways of Nivelles and Brussels. At noon, this Marshal, having received the fresh orders which the Emperor sent him from Fleurus, marched with three divisions of infantry of the second corps, a division of light cavalry, and a division of Kellerman's cuirassiers, in all, sixteen thousand infantry, three thousand cavalry, and forty-four pieces of cannon (twenty-one, or twenty-two thousand men). He left the first corps, consisting of sixteen thousand infantry, General Lefebvre Desnouettes's division of light cavalry of the guard, and a division of Kellerman's cuirassiers, forming a total of sixteen thousand infantry, four thousand five hundred cavalry, and sixty-four pieces of cannon in reserve before Gosselies, to observe Fleurus and secure his retreat. His skirmishers commenced firing at two, but it was not until three o'clock, when the cannonade of the battle of Ligny was heard, that he fairly attacked the enemy. The Prince of

Orange, and his division was very soon overthrown; but it was supported by the division of the Duke of Brunswick, and the fifth English division, which arrived in great haste and bad order. These two divisions had set out from Brussels at ten o'clock in the morning; and marched eight leagues; they had neither artillery nor cavalry. The contest was warmly renewed; the enemy had the superiority as to numbers, for the second line of Marshal Ney was three leagues in the rear; but the artillery and cavalry of the French were much more numerous. These troops, repulsed like those of Nassau, left many dead on the field, and amongst others, the reigning Prince of Brunswick. The forty-second, or Highland regiment of Picton's division, having formed into a square to sustain a charge of cuirassiers, was broken through and cut to pieces; its colonel killed, and colours taken. The French sharp-shooters had already reached the farm of Quatre Bras, when the first division of the English guards, and Alten's division, the 3rd, arrived marching in double quick time on the causeway of

Nivelles. These divisions were also without artillery or cavalry.* It was then, that Marshal Ney felt the want of his second line. He sent for it; but the troops could not reach the field of battle before eight; and it was now six o'clock, and therefore too late. However, the Marshal fought with his usual intrepidity, and his troops covered themselves with glory. The enemy, although double as to infantry, continuing to be very inferior in artillery and cavalry, could not make any progress, but he profited by the wood which flanked his position, and kept it until night. Marshal Ney took up his head-quarters at Frasne, a thousand toises from Quatre Bras, with

* *Anglo-Belgian army at Quatre Bras, from three o'clock in the afternoon, until six o'clock at night.*

	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Artillery.
3 Belgian Division	8,000	"	12
Division of Brunswick.....	8,000	1,500	"
5th English Division, Picton's,..	9,200	"	"
	25,200	1,500	12
From 6 o'clock till 9 o'clock at night.			
As above.....	25,200	1,500	12
1st English Division, Gral Cook.	3,500	"	"
3d Division, Gral Alten.....	8,800	"	"
	37,500	1,500	12

The rest of the army, including artillery and cavalry arrived in the night between the 17th and 18th.

his line of battle, at the distance of two cannon shots from the enemy's army. He was joined by the first corps, commanded by Count d'Erlon; the arrival of which was retarded half an hour only, by the movement towards St. Amand. The loss of the Anglo-Belgian army was by the official returns, estimated at nine thousand men.* The loss of the French army was three thousand four hundred men.† This disproportion of losses can easily be accounted for; the Anglo-Belgian army remained *en masse*, from three o'clock in the afternoon till eight in the evening, under the grape shot of fifty pieces of cannon, which did not cease firing the whole of that time.

IV. The third corps of the French

* *Loss of the Anglo-Belgian army at Quatre Bras.*

English	2,500
Hanoverians	1,000
Belgians and Nassau	3,000
Brunswickers	2,500
Total	9,000 men.

† *Loss of the French Army at Quatre Bras.*

1st Corps	"
2d Corps	3,000
Kellerman's Cavalry	300
The Guard	100
Total	3,400 men.

army bivouacked on the field of battle in front of St. Amand; the fourth corps in front of Ligny. Marshal Grouchy at Sombref; the imperial guard on the heights of Bry; the light cavalry having outposts as far as the causeway of Namur; the sixth corps in reserve behind Ligny. Blucher retreated, fighting in two columns on Wavres; one by Tilly, and the other by Gembloux; where the fourth corps coming from Liège, and commanded by General Bulow, arrived at eleven o'clock at night. The Prussians who had fled spread themselves over the whole country, and committed the most horrible excesses. Namur, the countries between the Sambre and Meuse, were more particularly exposed to their ferocity. The defeat of these oppressors of Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine, filled the inhabitants of these thirteen departments, who saw themselves already restored to the grand family of their affections, with renovated hope and joy. The Duke of Wellington passed the night at Quatre Bras; the English troops continued to join him by the two causeways; they were harassed

and fatigued, having marched the whole night and day, from the evening of the 15th to the morning of the 17th.

V. General Pajol, with a division of his corps of light cavalry and the division of infantry, headed by the sixth corps, moved in pursuit of the Prussian army at day-break on the 17th, and in the direction of Wavres, by Tilly and Gembloux: they took a number of carts and several parks of covered waggons. Marshal Ney had received an order to march on Quatre Bras at the dawn of day, and make a spirited attack on the English rear-guard. Count Lobau, with two divisions of infantry of his own corps, his light cavalry, and Milhaud's cuirassiers, marched by the causeway of Namur, on Quatre Bras, to favour Marshal Ney's attack, by taking the English army on its flank. Marshal Grouchy set out with Excelmans' corps of cavalry, and the third and fourth corps of infantry to support General Pajol, and follow Blucher with rapidity and energy, in order to prevent him from rallying. He was positively ordered, always to keep be-

tween the causeway leading from Charleroi to Brussels, and the Prussian general, so as to be in constant communication with the army, and able to rejoin it when required. It was probable, that Marshal Blucher would retire on Wavres; this order prescribed, that Grouchy should be there as soon as Blucher. If the enemy continued to march on Brussels, and passed the night covered by the forest of Soignes, the former was then to follow him to the borders of the forest. In the event of his retiring on the Meuse to cover his communications with Germany, he was to be observed by General Pajol's advanced guard, while he himself should occupy Wavres, with Excelmans' cavalry, the third and fourth corps of infantry, in order to keep in communication with the head-quarters which marched on the causeway from Charleroi to Brussels. The third division of the second corps, which had suffered much at the battle of Ligny, remained to keep possession of the field of battle, and to succour the wounded. It was thus, that the French army marched on Brussels in

two columns, the one composed of sixty-nine thousand men, and the other of thirty-four thousand.

The Emperor visited the field of battle, and caused every assistance to be given to the wounded. The loss of the Prussians was enormous. Six of their dead bodies were to be seen for one of the French: a great number of the wounded who had received no medical aid were succoured; all the pages, and many officers, having remained to attend to them. Young Gudin, son of the brave general of that name, who was killed in Russia, at the battle of Valentina, distinguished himself by his sympathy on this occasion. The above sacred duty fulfilled, Napoleon galloped on, to reach Quatre Bras, with Lobau's cavalry. He joined it at the village of Marchais; but, arriving in sight of the farm of Quatre Bras, he perceived that it was still occupied by a corps of English cavalry; soon after, a reconnoitring party of a hundred French hussars returned, closely followed by a regiment of British cavalry. The French cavalry took post; Milhaud's cuirassiers on the right, the light

cavalry on the left, the infantry placing itself in second line, while the batteries were put in position. A party of five hundred horse was sent to communicate with Frasne, and to ascertain what was passing on the left. How did it happen to be still in its camp?—It should have been on its march at six o'clock in the morning! Arrived at the borders of the wood, the hussars commenced skirmishing; but they soon found that their contention was with the red lancers of the guard, whom they had taken to be English. Officers were sent to Ney, to press him to advance towards Quatre Bras; and, immediately after, Count Lobau reformed and marched forward. An English sutler, who was made prisoner, gave an account of the movements of his army. The Duke of Wellington had not heard the disaster at Ligny until very late at night, when he immediately ordered the troops to retreat fighting, and in the direction of Brussels, leaving Lord Uxbridge with a corps of cavalry and batteries of light artillery, as a rear-guard. That officer retired as soon as he perceived the corps of Count Lobau. When

the Emperor arrived at the farm of Quatre Bras, he caused twelve pieces of light artillery to be put in battery, these were immediately engaged with two English batteries. Rain fell in torrents; meanwhile, the troops on the left did not stir; the patience of the Emperor being at length exhausted, an order was sent directly to the heads of corps. At last, Count d'Erlon appeared. He took the head of the column, and prepared to make an attack on the English rear-guard, General Reille, with the 2nd corps followed him. When Ney made his appearance, the Emperor expressed his dissatisfaction at such indecision and slowness, also at the three most precious hours, which the Marshal had caused him to lose. The latter stammered an excuse, stating, that he believed, Wellington, with his whole army, was still at Quatre Bras. The corps of Count Lobau followed the 2nd corps, and was joined by the guard. Milhaud's cuirassiers, preceded by a division of Pajol's light cavalry, commanded by General Subervie, formed an intermediate column. The Emperor marched at the head of the

army; the weather was dreadful; the soldiers were ancle-deep in water on the causeway, and up to their knees in the low grounds; the artillery could not pass over them, while the cavalry did so with great difficulty: this is what rendered the retreat of the enemy's cavalry so difficult, and enabled the French artillery to do him great mischief. At six o'clock in the evening, the enemy, who had until then supported his retreat with only a few pieces of cannon, unmasked fifteen. The weather was now extremely foggy; it being impossible to distinguish the force of his rear-guard; it had been evidently reinforced within a few minutes; and, as the distance was not far from the forest of Soignes, it probably wished to keep that position during the night. To prove this point, Milhaud's cuirassiers, which were under the protection of four batteries of light artillery, threatened to charge; when, the enemy unmasked fifty or sixty pieces of cannon, for all their army was there. It would have required two hours more of day-light, to be able to make the attack. The French army took post in front of

Planchenoit; with its head-quarters established at the farm of Caillioux, two thousand four hundred toises from the village of Mont St. Jean.

During this retreat, many English cavalry-officers were taken and brought to the Emperor; several of them were wounded; before interrogating them, he caused their wounds to be dressed, after which, he questioned them on the situation of their army, making use of General Flahaut as interpreter. Amongst these officers, was Captain Elphinstone. On crossing the causeway of Brussels, at Quatre Bras, it was easy to estimate the heavy loss of the English, although they had already buried the greater part of their dead.

Marshal Grouchy had pursued Blucher by the routes of Mont Guiber and Gembloux; but, reports having induced him to believe that most of the Prussian army had retired by Gembloux, he marched with his principal forces on that point; and, arriving there on the 16th, at four o'clock in the afternoon, he learned, that Bulow's corps arrived there at night, and that it had not been present at the battle;

that the utmost disorder prevailed in many corps of the Prussian army; that all the surrounding villages were full of wounded, and soldiers flying from the scene of action; that desertion was already very considerable among the Saxon and Westphalian troops, and even amongst the Prussians themselves. He sent reconnoitring parties towards Wavres and Liège, in the track of the enemy's two rear-guards, which had retired there. This done, Grouchy made his troops take post; yet he had only marched two leagues. Towards night, he received positive information, that the principal forces of the enemy had directed themselves upon Wavres; but it was then past six o'clock; the soldiers were refreshing themselves, and he thought it would be time enough to follow the enemy in the morning, by which means they gained three hours on him. This fatal resolution was the principal cause of our losing the battle of Waterloo.

The rain continued to fall during the night; this rendered all the low grounds almost impassable for artillery, cavalry, and even for infantry. During the 17th,

and the night between the 17th and 18th, the flankers of the French right wing reported, that they were in communication with the troops of Marshal Grouchy, who had pursued Marshal Blucher all the day, without the occurrence of any important event. At nine o'clock at night, General Milhaud, who had marched with his corps, to maintain the communications with Marshal Grouchy, reported, that a column of the enemy's cavalry had fallen back in the greatest haste from Tilly, on Wavres. A corps of two thousand cavalry was directed to march on Halle, threatening to turn the right of the forest of Soignes, and to march on Brussels; the Duke of Wellington alarmed at this, sent his 4th division of infantry there. The French cavalry returned to their camp at night, whereas the English division remained in observation, and was paralysed during the battle.

VI. The Emperor, with the 1st, 2nd, and 6th corps of infantry, the imperial guard, a division of Pajol's light cavalry, and the two corps of Milhaud's and Kellerman's cuirassiers, in all sixty-eight thousand nine hundred and six men, and two

hundred and forty-two pieces of cannon, was encamped in front of Planchenoit, across the high road of Brussels, four leagues and a half from that city, having before him, the Anglo-Belgian army ninety thousand strong, with two hundred and fifty-five pieces of cannon; with its head-quarters at Waterloo. Marshal Grouchy with thirty-four thousand men, and one hundred and eight pieces of cannon, should have been at Wavres; but he was, in fact, in front of Gembloux, having lost sight of the Prussian army which was at Wavres, where its four corps, amounting to seventy-five thousand men, were united.

At ten o'clock at night, the Emperor despatched an officer to Marshal Grouchy, who was supposed to be near Wavres, to inform him, that there would be a great battle the next day; that the Anglo-Belgian army was posted in front of the forest of Soignes, its left supported by the village of La Haye; and that he ordered him to detach a division of seven thousand men of all arms, and six pieces of cannon, from his camp at Wavres, before day-light, to St. Lambert,

for the purpose of joining the right of the grand army, and of operating with it; that, as soon as he should ascertain that Marshal Blucher had evacuated Wavres, either to continue his retreat on Brussels, or to move in any other direction, he should march with the rest of his troops, to support the detachment previously sent to St. Lambert.

At eleven at night, an hour after this despatch was sent off, a report from Marshal Grouchy was received, dated from Gembloux, five o'clock in the afternoon. It stated, that he was in that village with his army, and ignorant of the direction which Marshal Blucher had taken, not knowing whether it was on Brussels or Liège; that he had, in consequence, established two advanced guards, the one between Gembloux and Wavres, and the other at a league from Gembloux, towards Liège. Thus, Marshal Blucher had escaped him, while he was, at the same time, only three leagues from him!!! Marshal Grouchy had advanced two leagues only during the day of the 17th. A second officer was sent to him, at four o'clock in the morning,

to reiterate the order which had been despatched to him at ten o'clock at night. An hour after, at five o'clock, a fresh report received from him, dated Gembloux, two o'clock in the morning; and, wherein, this Marshal stated the circumstance of his having learned, at six in the evening, that Blucher had proceeded with all his forces on Wavres; that the Marshal had, in consequence, wished instantly to follow him; but, that the troops having halted and prepared their supper, he would not move until daylight, so as to reach Wavres at an early hour, which would have the same effect; that the soldiery would then be well refreshed and full of ardour.

CHAPTER VI.

BATTLE OF MONT ST. JEAN.

I. *Line of Battle of the Anglo-Belgian Army.*—II. *Line of Battle of the French Army.*—III. *Plans of the Emperor:—Attack of Hougoumont.*—IV. *General Bulow arrives on the Field of Battle with thirty thousand Men, which increases the Army under Lord Wellington to a hundred and twenty thousand Men.*—V. *Attack of La Haye Sainte, by the first Corps.*—VI. *General Bulow is repulsed.*—VII. *Charge of Cavalry on the Plain.*—VIII. *Marshal Grouchy's movement.*—IX. *Marshal Blucher's movement, which increases the Enemy's Force, on the Field of Battle, to a hundred and fifty thousand Men.*—X. *Movement of the Imperial Guard.*

I. DURING the night, the Emperor gave all the necessary orders for the battle of

next day, although every thing indicated that it would not take place. During the four days that hostilities had continued, he had, by the most skilful manœuvres, surprised the enemy's armies, gained a brilliant victory, and separated the two armies. This was much for his glory, but not enough for the situation in which he was placed!!! The three hours' delay which the left had experienced in its movements, prevented him from attacking, as he intended, the Anglo-Belgian army, in the afternoon of the 17th; which would have crowned his campaign!!! As things now were, it was probable that the Duke of Wellington and Marshal Blucher would profit by the night to cross the forest of Soignes, and unite before Brussels; after this junction, which might be effected before nine o'clock in the morning, the position of the French army would become extremely critical!!! The two armies would then be reinforced by all the forces left in their rear: six thousand English were disembarked at Ostend within a few days; these troops returned from America. The French army could not hazard cross-

ing the forest of Soignes, to encounter more than double its force, already in position; nevertheless, the other armies, Russian, Austrian, Bavarian, &c. were about to pass the Rhine, and march on the Marne; while the fifth corps, left for the defence of Alsace, was only twenty thousand strong!

Full of meditation on these important subjects, the Emperor went out on foot, at one o'clock in the morning, accompanied by his Grand Marshal; his design was to follow the English army in its retreat, and to endeavour to attack it, notwithstanding the obscurity of the night, as soon as it should commence its march. He visited the whole line of main guards. The forest of Soignes appeared like one continued blaze; the horizon between that forest, Braine-la-Leude, the farms of La Belle Alliance and La Haye, were resplendent with the fires of numerous bivouacs; the most profound silence reigned. The Anglo-Belgian army was wrapt in sleep, owing to the fatigues which it had undergone on the preceding days. Arrived near the wood of Hougoumont, he heard the noise

of a column in march: it was then half past two o'clock; so that the rear-guard ought to quit its position, if the enemy was in retreat. This illusion was short—the noise ceased, and rain fell in torrents. Several officers, sent to reconnoitre, and others who returned to head-quarters at half past three, confirmed the opinion, that the Anglo-Belgian army had made no movement. At four o'clock the scouts brought in a peasant, who had served as a guide to a brigade of English cavalry, which went to take position on the left, at the village of Ohain. Two Belgian deserters, who had just quitted their regiment, reported that their army were preparing for battle, and that no retrograde movement had taken place; that Belgium prayed for the success of the Emperor; while the English and the Prussians were equally unpopular there.

The British General could have done nothing more contrary to the interests of his party and of his nation, or to the general spirit of this campaign, and even to the most obvious rules of war, than to remain in the position which he occupied. He had in his rear the defiles of the forest

of Soignes, so that, if beaten, retreat was impossible!

The French troops bivouacked in the midst of a deep mud, and the officers thought it impossible to give battle on the following day; the grounds were so moistened that the artillery and the cavalry could not possibly manœuvre in them, and it would require twelve hours of fine weather to dry them. The dawn having begun to appear, the Emperor returned to his head-quarters, full of satisfaction at the great fault committed by the enemy's General; though very apprehensive that the bad weather would prevent him from profiting by it. But the atmosphere became more clear, and at five o'clock he perceived some feeble rays of that sun, which, before setting, was to witness the ruin of his opponents—the British oligarchy would be overthrown!—France was about to rise again,—more glorious, powerful, and grand than ever!!!

The Anglo-Belgian army was in order of battle, on the causeway which leads from Charleroi to Brussels, in front of the forest of Soignes, crowning a large flat.

The right, composed of the 1st and 2d English divisions and the Brunswick division, commanded by Generals Cook and Clinton, was flanked by a ravine beyond the road of Nivelles; the castle of Hougoumont, in its front, being occupied by a detachment. The centre, composed of the 3d English division and of the 1st and 2d Belgian divisions, commanded by Generals Alten, Collaert, and Chassé, was in front of Mont St. Jean, its left on the road of Charleroi; one of its brigades also occupied the farm of La Haye Sainte. The left, composed of the 5th and 6th English divisions, and the 3d Belgian division, commanded by Generals Picton, Lambert, and Perchoncher, had its right towards the causeway of Charleroi, and its left behind the village of La Haye, which it occupied by a strong detachment. The reserve was at Mont St. Jean, where the roads from Charleroi and Nivelles to Brussels intersect each other. The cavalry, in three lines, advanced to Mont St. Jean, guarded all the rear of the enemy's line of battle, the extent of which was about two thousand five hundred toises. His front was covered by a natural

obstacle. The flat was lightly concave at its centre, while the ground descended gently to a ravine at its base. The 4th English division, commanded by General Colville, occupied, as flankers of the right, all the openings from Halle to Braine-la-Leude. A brigade of English cavalry occupied, as flankers of the left, all the openings as far as the village of Ohain. The forces shewn by the enemy were estimated differently; but the officers most accustomed to these calculations considered them, including the corps of flankers, to amount to ninety thousand men, which agreed with the general accounts that were given. The French army was only sixty-nine thousand strong, but, still, victory appeared to be certain. These sixty-nine thousand men were good troops; whereas in the enemy's army, the English only, amounting to forty thousand at most, could be reckoned as such.

At eight o'clock the Emperor's breakfast was served up; to this many general officers sat down. "The enemy's army," said Napoleon, "is superior to our's by

nearly a fourth;* there are, notwithstanding, ninety chances in our favour to ten against us." "Without doubt," said Marshal Ney, who had just entered, "if the Duke of Wellington were simple enough to wait for your Majesty; but I come to announce that his columns are already in full retreat, and are disappearing in the forest of Soignes." "You have seen badly," replied the Emperor; "it is too late, he would expose himself to certain ruin by such a step; he has thrown the dice—they are now for us!!!" At this moment officers of artillery, who

* *Situation of the French Army of Flanders, on the 17th June, at night.*

Forces under the immediate Orders of the Emperor on the Field of Battle of Mont St. Jean.

	Infant.	Caval.	Artil. Eugin. Milit. Equip.	Pieces of Cannon.
Imperial Guard	11,500	4,000		96
1st Corps	16,500	1,400		46
2d Corps	16,500	1,400		38
6th Corps	6,300	1,400		30
1st Corps of Cavalry		1,400		6
3d Corps of Cavalry		3,000		12
4th Corps Cavalry		3,000		12
	50,800	15,600	6,500	240
Losses sustained on the 16th	3,000	750	500	
Present on the Field of Battle of Mt St Jean, on the 17th, at the Camp of Planchenoit	47,800	14,850	6,000	240
Total	68,650 men, 240 guns.			

Forces

had rode over the plain, stated that the artillery could manœuvre, although with difficulty, which would be greatly diminished in an another hour. The Em-

Forces under the orders of Marshal Grouchy.

	Infant.	Caval.	Artil. Engin. Milit. Equip.	Pieces of Cannon.
3d Corps	13,500	1,400		38
4th Corps	12,000	1,400		38
1st Division, 6th Corps	3,000			8
1st Division, 1st Corps of Cavalry		1,400		6
2nd Corps of Cavalry		2,700		12
	28,700	6,900	3,600	102
Losses on the 16th	3,900	800	400	
Present under arms on the 17th at night, at Gembloux	24,800	6,100	3,200	102
Total			34,500 men, 102 guns.	

Forces left behind, at Ligny and Charleroi.

	Infant.	Caval.	Artill. Engin. Milit. Equip.	Pieces of Cannon.
3d Division of the 2d Corps left behind on the field of battle of Ligny	5,000		200	8
Parks left at Charleroi, or at Quatre Bras			5,000	4
	5,000		5,200	12
Losses sustained on the 16th	1,900			
Present under arms on the 17th June, at night, at Ligny and at Charleroi	3,100		5,200	12
Total			8,300 men, 12 guns.	

N. B.—The French army on the field of battle of Mont St. Jean, was composed of 95 battalions and 110 squadrons.

Situation

peror mounted immediately, and went to the skirmishes opposite La Haye Sainte, again reconnoitred the enemy's line, and directed the General of Engineers, Haxo,

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Situation of the Anglo-Belgian and Prusso-Saxon armies, on the 17th of June at night.

Anglo-Belgian army on the Field of Battle of Mont St. Jean.

			Pieces of cannon.
INFANTRY.			
1st English Division, the Guards	3,500		
2d D° 1 brigade English Infantry, 1 German, 1 Hanoverian	8,900		
3d D° 1 brigade English Infantry, 1 German, 1 Hanoverian	8,800		
4th D° 2 brigades English Infantry, 1 Hanoverian	7,100		
5th D° D°	9,200		
6th D° 1 brigade English Infantry, 1 Hanoverian	6,500	64,000	
7th Division Dutch Belgian	7,500		
8th D°	7,500		
9th D° Dutch Belgian 1 brigade of Nassau	8,000		
10th Division of Brunswick	6,000		
Total entering into the field	75,000		
Loss at Quatre Bras	9,000		
Present on the field of battle of Mont St Jean	64,000		
CAVALRY.			
8 Divisions of English Cavalry composed of 16 Regiments English, 5 Hanoverian, and 5 German	15,000		
Cavalry, Dutch and Belgian	3,200		
Cavalry of Brunswick	1,800		
Total entering into the field	20,000	19,500	
Loss at Quatre Bras	500		
Present under arms on the field of battle on the 18th	19,500		
ART. MIL. EQUIP.			
Artillerymen, English, German, and Hanoverian	4,200		
Ditto, Dutch, Belgian, Brunswickan, &c.	2,000		
Total	6,200	6,000	250
Loss on the 16th	200		
Present on the field of battle on the 18th	6,000		
Total Force of the Anglo-Hollandian army, on the field of battle of Mont St Jean		89,500	250

Prusso-

a confidential officer; to approach it nearer in order to ascertain whether any redoubts were thrown up, or entrenchments made; the General soon returned to report that

Prusso-Saxon army at Wavres on the 17th at night.

1st Corps.	Infant. Caval. Artil. &c. having 75 guns . 30,000 Loss on the 15th & 16th 17,000 Present the 17th at night at the Camp at Wavres . . 13,000	13,000	Pieces of cannon.	
2d Corps.	Infant. Caval. Artil. &c. having 75 guns . 30,000 Loss on the 15th & 16th 12,000 Present the 17th at night at the Camp at Wavres . . 18,000	18,000	100	
3d Corps.	Infant. Caval. Artil. &c. having 75 guns . 30,000 Loss on the 15th & 16th 16,000 Present the 17th at night at the Camp at Wavres . . 14,000	14,000		
N.B. These three corps lost at the battle of Ligny 40 guns.				
4th Corps.	Infant. Caval. Artil. &c. having 75 guns . 30,000 Loss on the 15th & 16th 0 Present the 17th at night at the Camp at Wavres . . 30,000	30,000	70	
Total Force of the Prusso-Saxon army, on the 17th at night at Wavres		75,000	170	

Forces left at the parks by the Anglo-Belgian and Prusso-Saxon armies.

Anglo-Belgians at the parks . . .	5,000	
Prusso-Saxon, do.	8,000	
Total Force left at the parks	13,000	

N.B. The Anglo-Belgian army at Mont St. Jean was composed of thirty-four English battalions, eight of the German Legion, twenty Hanoverian, eight Brunswick, thirty Dutch, Belgian or of Nassau; in all one hundred and four battalions; one hundred and sixty squadrons, and forty-three batteries of artillery: independently of fourteen regiments of infantry in garrison in Belgium, or newly disembarked at Ostend.

he had observed no trace of fortifications. After some moments' reflection, the Emperor dictated the order of battle, which was taken down by two Generals, seated on the ground. The aide-de-camps took it to the different corps, already under arms, full of impatience and of ardour. The army now moved forward, marching in eleven columns.

II. These eleven columns were to be arranged as follows; viz.—four to form the first line, four the second, and three the third. The four columns of the first line were, that of the left, formed by the cavalry of the second corps; the second, formed by three divisions of infantry of the second corps; the third, by the four divisions of infantry of the first corps; the fourth, by the light cavalry of the first corps. The four columns of the second line were; first, that of the left, formed by Kellerman's corps of cuirassiers; the second, by the two divisions of infantry of the sixth corps; the third, by two divisions of light cavalry, the one, that of the sixth corps, commanded by the General of Division Daumont; the other, detached from Pajol's corps, and

commanded by the General of Division Subervie: the fourth, by the corps of cuirassiers of Milhaud. The three columns of the third line were, that of the left, formed by the division of horse-grenadiers, and of dragoons of the guard, commanded by General Guyot; the second, by the three divisions of the old, middle, and young guard, commanded by Lieutenant-Generals Friant, Morand, and Dühesme; the third, by the mounted chasseurs and the lancers of the guard, commanded by Lieutenant-General Lefebvre Desnouettes. The artillery marched on the flanks of the columns, while the parks and travelling hospitals were kept in the rear.

At nine o'clock, the heads of the four columns forming the first line arrived where they had to form: at the same time were perceived, at unequal distances, the seven other columns, which descended from the heights; they were in march; the trumpets and drums sounded "to the field," and the bands struck up airs which recalled the memory of a hundred victories to the minds of the soldiery:—the earth seemed proud of being trodden

by such intrepid combatants! The spectacle was really magnificent; and the enemy, so placed as to be able to distinguish every individual, must have been also struck with the sight:—the army would even have appeared double its real number, viewed from Mont St. Jean.

The eleven columns formed with so much precision that no confusion whatever arose, each occupying the place designated for it in the mind of the Chief: never had such large masses moved with so much facility. The light cavalry of the second corps, which formed the first column of the left of the first line, formed in three lines, across the causeway from Nivelles to Brussels, nearly at the height of the first woods at Hougoumont, scouring all the plain by the left, having main guards near Braine-la-Leude, and its battery of light artillery on the causeway of Nivelles. The second corps, under the orders of General Reille, occupied the space comprehended between the causeway of Nivelles and that of Charleroi, embracing an extent of from nine hundred to one thousand toises; the division of Prince Jerome keeping the left, near the

causeway of Nivelles and the wood of Hougoumont; General Foy the centre, and General Bachelu the right, which extended to the causeway of Charleroi, near the farm of La Belle Alliance. Each division of infantry was on two lines; the second at thirty toises from the first, having its artillery in front, and its parks of artillery in the rear, near the causeway of Nivelles. The third column, formed by the first corps, and commanded by Lieutenant-General Count d'Erlon, formed its left towards La Belle Alliance on the right of the causeway leading to Charleroi, and its right opposite the farm of La Haye, where the enemy's left was posted. Each division of infantry formed two lines, the artillery filling up the intervals of the brigades. The light cavalry which formed the fourth column, spread to the right, observing La Haye and Frichermont, and having small parties to watch the enemy's flankers; the artillery was placed on its right.

The first line was scarcely formed, when the heads of the four columns of the second line reached the point at which they were to act. The cuirassiers of Keller-

man established themselves on two lines, at the distance of thirty toises from each other, having their left near the causeway of Nivelles, at one hundred toises from the second line of the second corps, and their right at the causeway of Charleroi. The space occupied by that part of the army was eleven hundred toises. One of their batteries took position on the left near the causeway of Nivelles, the other on the right near that of Charleroi. The second column, commanded by Lieutenant-General Count Lobau, moved to fifty toises behind the second line of the second corps; it remained in close column of divisions, occupying a hundred toises in depth, along and on the left of the causeway of Charleroi, with a distance of ten toises between the two columns of divisions; the artillery on its left flank. The third column, that of the light cavalry, commanded by the General of Division Daumont, followed by the cavalry of General Subervie, placed itself in close column of squadrons, the left towards the causeway of Charleroi, opposite its infantry, from which it was separated by that causeway only; its

light artillery was placed on the right flank. The fourth column, the corps of cuirassiers of Milhaud, formed in two lines, at an interval of thirty toises, and a hundred toises behind the second line of the first corps; its left near the causeway of Charleroi, its right in the direction of Frichermont; it occupied an extent of about nine hundred toises; its batteries were on the left, near the causeway of Charleroi, and on its centre.

Before this second line was formed the heads of the three columns of reserve arrived at their respective stations. The heavy cavalry of the guard placed itself a hundred toises behind General Kellerman's corps in order of battle, on two lines, at an interval of thirty toises from each other; the left towards the causeway of Nivelles, the right towards that of Charleroi, and the artillery in the centre. The central column, formed by the infantry of the guard, formed six lines of four battalions each, at a distance of ten toises from each other, across the route of Charleroi, and a little before the farm of Rossome. The batteries of artillery, belonging to the different regiments, placed

themselves on the left and right; that of the reserve, horse and foot, behind the lines. The third column, mounted chasseurs and lancers of the guard, formed in two lines, at an interval of thirty toises; and one hundred toises behind General Milhaud; the left on the causeway of Charleroi, and the right towards Fricher-mont; its light artillery in the centre. At half past ten o'clock, incredible as it may appear, the whole movement was completed, and all the troops at their positions. The most profound silence also reigned on the field of battle. The army was drawn up in six lines, forming the figure of six double W's; the two first of infantry, having the light cavalry on the wings; the third and fourth of cuirassiers; the fifth and the sixth of cavalry of the guard, with six lines of infantry of the guard perpendicularly placed at the summit of the six W's; and the sixth corps, in close column, perpendicular to the lines occupied by the guards. The infantry on the left of the road, its cavalry on the right. The causeways of Charleroi and Nivelles were open, thus affording the means of communication by which

the artillery of reserve might arrive with celerity on the different points of the line.

The Emperor now went through the ranks; it would be difficult to express the enthusiasm which animated all the soldiers; the infantry elevated their caps on their bayonets; the cuirassiers, dragoons, and light cavalry, their helmets on their sabres. Victory appeared certain; the old soldiers who had been present at so many engagements, admired this new order of battle; they endeavoured to penetrate the ulterior views of their general, discussing the point and manner of the attack. Meanwhile, the Emperor gave his last orders, and proceeded at the head of his guard, to the summit of the six W's, on the heights of Rossome, where he dismounted. From this spot, he had a complete view of the two armies, as the prospect extended far to the right and left of the field of battle.

A battle is a dramatic action, which has a commencement, a middle, and an end. The order of battle which the two armies assume, the first movements which are made to engage, may be called the

opening scene; the counter movements, made by the party attacked, form the under plot; this leads to new incidents; these bring on the crisis, from which proceeds the catastrophe. As soon as the attack by the centre of the French army was unmasked, the enemy's general would execute counter movements, either by his wings or behind his line, to make a diversion, or hasten to the succour of the point attacked. None of these movements could escape the experienced eye of the French Monarch, from the central position in which he placed himself; while he had all the reserve at hand, to send them where the urgency of the circumstances might happen to require their presence.

III. Ten divisions of artillery, among which were three divisions of twelve pounders, assembled; the left towards the causeway of Charleroi, on the hills beyond la Belle Alliance, and in front of the left division of the first corps. They were destined to support the attack of La Haye Sainte, which was to be made by two divisions of the first corps, and the two divisions of the sixth, whilst the

two other divisions of the first corps should march on La Haye. By these means, all the left of the enemy would be turned. The division of light cavalry of the sixth corps in close column, and that of the first corps which was on its wings, would participate in this attack, which would also be supported by the second and third lines of cavalry, as all the foot and horse guards. The French army, once in possession of La Haye and Mont St. Jean, would cut off the causeway of Brussels, from all the right of the English army, where its principal forces were. The Emperor preferred turning the left of the army rather than the right; first, in order to cut it off from the Prussians who were at Wavres, and oppose their junction if that was in contemplation; and if it were not even meditated, and the attack was made on the right, the English army repulsed would have fallen back on the Prussians; whereas, if made on the left, it would be separated from them, and driven in the direction of the sea-coast; secondly, because the left appeared to be much more feeble; thirdly, because the Emperor

was in momentary expectation of being joined by a detachment from Marshal Grouchy to strengthen his right; he did not therefore wish to run the risk of being separated from that body.

Whilst every thing was preparing for this decisive attack, Prince Jerome's division on the left, commenced a fire of musketry at the wood of Hougoumont. The action soon became very warm, the enemy having unmasked nearly forty pieces of artillery. General Reille advanced the battery of artillery of his second division, and the Emperor sent an order to General Kellerman, to advance his twelve piece of light artillery; the cannonade was now extremely brisk. Prince Jerome carried the wood of Hougoumont several times, and was as often repulsed from it; this spot was defended by the division of the English guards, the best troops of the enemy. It was gratifying to see them on the right, as it rendered the grand attack on the left more easy. The division of General Foy, supported Jerome's division, prodigies of valour were performed on both sides; the English guards covered the wood and the avenues of the castle

with their dead, but not without selling their blood dearly. After many vicissitudes, which occupied a great part of the day, the whole of the wood remained in the possession of the French; but the castle, in which some hundreds of intrepid English troops defended themselves, opposed an invincible resistance. The Emperor ordered it to be attacked by a battery of eight howitzers, which set fire to the barns and roofs; this soon rendered the French masters of that position.

Marshal Ney, obtained the honour of commanding the grand attack of the centre; it could not be confided to a braver man, or one more accustomed to this species of service. He sent one of his aide-de-camps, to say that every thing was ready, and that he only waited for the signal. Before giving it, the Emperor wished to throw a last glance over the whole field of battle, and perceived, in the direction of St. Lambert, a dark mass, which appeared to him like troops. Upon this, he asked the Adjutant General what he saw near St. Lambert? "I think, I see five or six thousand men," replied

the General, "it is probably a detachment from Grouchy." All the glasses of the staff were now fixed in that direction. The weather was rather foggy. As it generally happens on such occasions, some maintained, that there were no troops, but merely trees which were perceived; while others said, columns were in position there; some, that they were troops in march. In this state of uncertainty, and without further deliberation, he sent for Lieutenant General Daumont, and ordered him to scour the right with his divisions of light cavalry, and that of General Subervie; also to communicate promptly with the troops which were moving on St. Lambert, to effect a junction if they belonged to Marshal Grouchy, and keep them in check if they were enemies. These three thousand cavalry had only to make a wheel to the right by fours to be out of the lines; they marched rapidly, and in the greatest order, to a distance of three thousand toises, and formed in line of battle on the right of the army.

IV. A quarter of an hour afterwards, an officer of chasseurs brought in a

Prussian black hussar, who had been just made prisoner by the scouts of a flying column of three hundred chasseurs, which scoured the country between Wavres and Planchenoit. This hussar was the bearer of a letter; he was also very intelligent, and gave all the information that was required. The column perceived at St. Lambert, was the advanced guard of the Prussian General, Bulow, who was coming up with thirty thousand men; this was the fourth Prussian corps which had not been engaged at Ligny. The letter was in fact the announcement of its arrival, and a request from Bulow to the Duke of Wellington for ulterior orders. The hussar said, that he had been at Wavres in the morning; that the three other Prussian corps were encamped there; that they had passed the night between the 17th and 18th in that town; that there were no French troops before them; that he supposed the French had marched on Planchenoit; that a patrole of his regiment had during the night approached within two leagues of Wavres, without meeting any French corps whatever. The Duke of Dalmatia immediately dispatched

the intercepted letter, and the report of the hussar to Marshal Grouchy, to whom he reiterated the order to march without a moment's delay on St. Lambert, and to take General Bulow's corps in the rear. It was now eleven o'clock, the officer had only to proceed four or five leagues to reach Marshal Grouchy, and he promised to be with that officer in an hour. By the last communication received from the Marshal, it was known that he meant to march on Wavres at day-break; but from Gembloux, where he was, to Wavres, the distance is only three leagues. Whether he had received the orders which had been dispatched to him in the night from the imperial quarters or not, he should most certainly have been engaged at this very time before Wavres. Those who reconnoitred in that direction saw no troops; not a gun was heard. A short time after, General Daumont sent to say, that some well mounted scouts that preceded him, had met patroles of the enemy in the vicinity of St. Lambert; and that there was no doubt of the troops which were seen there being enemies; that he had sent chosen patroles in various di-

rections, to communicate with Marshal Grouchy, for the purpose of conveying orders and reports.

The Emperor immediately caused an order to be given to Count Lobau to cross the causeway of Charleroi, by a change of direction to the right by divisions, and to support the light cavalry towards St. Lambert; choosing a good intermediate position, where he might with ten thousand men, check thirty thousand if it became necessary; to attack the Prussians briskly, as soon as he should hear the first cannon shots of the troops, which Marshal Grouchy had detached in their rear. These orders were instantly executed. It was of the highest importance that the movement of Count de Lobau should be made without delay.

Marshal Grouchy should have detached six or seven thousand men from Wavres on St. Lambert, these would find themselves compromised, since Bulow's corps was thirty thousand strong, just as the latter corps would have been compromised and destroyed, if, at the moment of his being attacked in the rear by seven thousand men, he was attacked in

front by a man of Count de Lobau's character. Seventeen or eighteen thousand French, thus disposed and commanded, were far superior to thirty thousand Prussians; but these events caused some change in the first plan of the Emperor; he found himself enfeebled on the field of battle by ten thousand men, whom he was obliged to send against General Bulow. He no longer had more than fifty-nine thousand men against ninety thousand; while the enemy's army against which he was engaged, had just been augmented by thirty thousand men, already ranged on the field of battle; thus placing one hundred and twenty thousand men against sixty-nine thousand; or two to one. "*We had ninety chances for us this morning*," said he, to the Duke of Dalmatia, "*the arrival of Bulow makes us lose thirty; but we have still sixty against forty: and if Grouchy repairs the horrible fault which he committed yesterday, by amusing himself at Gembloux, and sends on his detachment with rapidity, the victory will be thereby only the more decisive, for the corps of Bulow must in that case be entirely lost.*"

No uneasiness was entertained for Marshal Grouchy. After the detachment which he might have sent on towards St. Lambert, there still remained from twenty-seven to twenty-eight thousand men under his orders; but the three corps that Marshal Blucher had at Wavres, and which were ninety thousand before Ligny, were reduced to forty thousand, not only by the loss of thirty thousand, which he had sustained in the battle, but also by that of twenty thousand men, who disbanded themselves, and ravaged the borders of the Meuse; also by some detachments, which that Marshal had been obliged to send to cover them, as well as his baggage, which was then in the direction of Namur and of Liege; but, forty thousand or forty-five thousand Prussians beaten and discouraged, could not overawe twenty-eight thousand French, well posted and victorious.

V. It was noon, the skirmishers were engaged on all the line, but there was no real action, except on the left in the wood, and at the castle of Hougoumont. The troops of General Bulow were still stationary beyond the extreme right;

they appeared to form and wait till their artillery passed the defile. The Emperor sent an order to Marshal Ney to commence the fire of his batteries; take possession of the farm of La Haye Sainte, and to post a division of infantry there, to occupy the village; also to possess himself of La Haye, and to drive the enemy from it; in order to intercept all communication between the Anglo-Belgian army and Bulow's corps. Eighty guns soon made an immense havoc over all the left of the English line, one of its divisions was entirely destroyed by round and case shot. Whilst this attack was unmasked, the Emperor attentively observed the movements of the enemy's general; he made none on his right; but the Emperor perceived, that he prepared a grand charge of cavalry on the left, and he galloped to the spot. The charge had taken place; it had repulsed a column of infantry which advanced on the low ground, taken two eagles, and disorganised seven pieces of cannon: a brigade of Milhaud's cuirassiers from the second line were ordered to charge the enemy's cavalry. It did so, with cries of "Long live the Emperor!"

The English cavalry was broken, and the greater part of it remained on the field; the guns were also retaken, and the infantry protected. Many charges of infantry and cavalry followed; the detail of them belongs more to the history of each regiment, than to the general history of the battle, in which such recitals, if multiplied, would create confusion; it is enough to say, that after three hours fighting, the farm of La Haye Sainte, in spite of the resistance of the Scotch regiments, was occupied by the French infantry; while the end, which the French General had in view was obtained. The sixth and fifth English divisions were destroyed, General Picton remained dead on the field.

During this combat, the Emperor rode through the line of infantry of the first corps, the line of cavalry of Milhaud's cuirassiers, and that of the guard in a third line, in the middle of the discharges of the enemy's artillery and musketry: the brave General Devaux, commanding the artillery of the guard, was killed at his side by a cannon shot; a most serious loss, and above all at this moment, because he

knew the positions occupied by the reserves of the artillery of the guard, consisting of ninety-six guns, better than any other officer in the army. The General of brigade Lallemand succeeded him, and was also wounded shortly after.

Disorder had by this time prevailed in the English army; the baggage, waggon-train, and wounded, seeing the French approach the causeway of Brussels, and the principal opening of the forest, hastened to effect their retreat in the greatest confusion: all the English, Belgians, and Germans, who had been sabred by the cavalry, precipitated themselves on Brussels. It was now four o'clock. The victory would have been then decided, had not General Bulow's corps effected its powerful diversion. At two o'clock in the afternoon, General Daumont had given notice, that Bulow formed in three columns; and that the French riflemen skirmished, retiring before the enemy, which appeared to him as being very numerous; he estimated it to be more than forty thousand strong; adding, moreover, that his best mounted scouts had traversed several leagues in different direc-

tions, but had brought no news of Marshal Grouchy; that his assistance was, therefore, not to be depended on. About this time, the Emperor received a most disagreeable piece of news from Gembloux. Marshal Grouchy, instead of setting out from that place at the first dawn of day, as he announced in his despatch of two o'clock in the morning, had not quitted his camp there at ten o'clock. The officer attributed it to the dreadful state of the weather—ridiculous motive! This inexcusable tardiness, under circumstances so critical, on the part of such a zealous officer, could not be accounted for.

VI. The cannonade between General Bulow and Count de Lobau soon commenced. The Prussian army marched in echelon, the centre in front. Its line of battle was perpendicular to the right flank of the French army, and parallel to the causeway from La Haye Sainte to Planchenoit. The echelon of the centre unmasked a battery of thirty guns; the artillery opposed to it an equal number. After a cannonade of an hour, Count de Lobau perceiving, that the 1st echelon was not supported, marched to the spot,

pierced through, and repulsed it; but the two other lines which appeared to have been retarded by the bad roads, rallied the 1st echelon, and, without endeavouring to break through the French line, sought to outflank it by a wheel to the left, in line. Count de Lobau, apprehensive lest he should be turned, executed his retreat upon the army, by the alternate movement. The fire of the Prussian batteries doubled; sixty pieces of cannon were counted; the balls fell on the causeway, in front, and in rear of La Belle Alliance, where the Emperor was standing with his guard; it was the army's line of operation. At this most important moment, the enemy had approached so near, that his case-shot ploughed up the causeway; the Emperor then ordered General Duhesme, who commanded the young guard, to march on the right of the sixth corps; with his two brigades of infantry, and twenty-four pieces of cannon. A quarter of an hour afterwards, that formidable battery commenced its fire; the French artillery soon acquired the superiority, as it was better served, and more ad-

vantageously placed. As soon as the young guard was engaged, the movement of the Prussians appeared to be checked; undulations were observed in their lines; but they continued still to prolong it towards their left, outflanking the French right, as far as Planchenoit; Lieutenant General Morand then moved, with four battalions of the old guard, and sixteen pieces of cannon, to the right of the young guard; two regiments of the old guard took post in front of Planchenoit; the Prussian line being outflanked, General Bulow was repulsed; his left made a movement backward, converged, and, by degrees, all his line fell back. The Count de Lobau, General Duhesme, and General Morand, marched forward; they soon occupied the positions which the artillery of General Bulow had left. Not only had that General exhausted his attack, unmasked all his reserves; but, having at first advanced, he was now in retreat. The Prussian bullets no longer reached the causeway of Charleroi, nor did they even come near the positions previously occupied by Count de Lobau; it was now seven o'clock.

VII. Two hours had elapsed since the Count d'Erlon had taken possession of La Haye, outflanked all the English left, and the right of General Bulow. The light cavalry of the first corps, pursuing the enemy's infantry on the flat of La Haye, had been brought back by a body of cavalry superior in number. Count Milhaud now ascended the height with his cuirassiers, giving warning to General Lefebvre Desnouettes, who immediately commenced a hot fire to sustain him. This happened at five o'clock; and the moment at which the attack made by General Bulow was most menacing. Far from being kept in check, he constantly showed new troops, who continued to extend his line on the right. The English cavalry was repulsed by the intrepid cuirassiers and the chasseurs of the guard. They abandoned all the field of battle between La Haye Sainte and Mont St. Jean, which the whole of their left had occupied; and were deprived of all means of retreating on their right. On seeing these brilliant charges, cries of victory were heard all over the field, upon which, the Emperor said, " it is

too soon by an hour; but we must support what is done." He then sent an order to the cuirassiers of Kellerman, which were still in position on the left, to move briskly, to support the cavalry on the low grounds. At this moment, General Bulow threatened the flank and rear of the army; it was important not to make any retrograde movement, and to maintain the position, although premature, which the cavalry had taken. This rapid movement of three thousand cuirassiers who defiled under the cannonade of the Prussians, shouting, "live the Emperor!" made a happy diversion at this critical moment. The cavalry marched as in pursuit of the English army; but the army of General Bulow still made some progress on the flank and rear. The soldiers and officers sought to divine in the look of the Chief, whether they were conquerors or in danger; while he breathed nothing but confidence. It was the fiftieth regular battle in which Napoleon had commanded within twenty years. In the meantime, the division of heavy cavalry of the guard, under the orders of General Guyot, which was in

the second line, behind Kellerman's cuirassiers, followed at a brisk trot, to the low ground. On perceiving this movement, the Emperor sent Count Bertrand to recall it; for it was his reserve: when that General arrived, it was already engaged, so that a retrograde movement would have been dangerous. Thus, did the Emperor find himself deprived of his reserve of cavalry ever since five o'clock; that reserve, which, properly employed, had so often given him the victory: while these twelve thousand select horse performed prodigies of valour; overthrowing all the more numerous cavalry of the enemy, which wished to oppose them, broke through many squares of infantry, disorganized their ranks, took possession of sixty pieces of cannon, and seized six stands of colours in the midst of the squares; these trophies were presented to the Emperor at La Belle Alliance, by three chasseurs of the guard, and three cuirassiers. The enemy believed the battle lost a second time; and he must have now seen with affright how many difficulties which the field of battle he had chosen, was about to throw in the

way of his retreat. Ponsonby's brigade, charged by the red lancers of the guard, commanded by General Colbert, was broken through, and its General was killed by several lance wounds. The Prince of Orange was severely wounded, and on the point of being taken; but the brave cavalry not being supported by a strong mass of infantry, which was still retained by General Bulow's attack, was obliged to confine itself to preserving the field of battle which it had conquered. At length, about seven o'clock, when Bulow's attack was repulsed, and the cavalry still maintained itself on the flat, whence the enemy had been driven, the victory was gained; sixty-nine thousand French had beaten one hundred and twenty thousand men. Joy was on every countenance, and hope in every heart. This sentiment succeeded the astonishment which had been felt during the flank attack made by a whole army, and which had menaced our retreat for above an hour. At this moment, Marshal Grouchy's cannonade was distinctly heard; it seemed to proceed from beyond Wavres, in the most

distant point, and in the nearest, from the rear of St. Lambert.

VIII. Marshal Grouchy did not set out from his camp at Gembloux before ten o'clock in the morning, and was, between twelve and one o'clock, half way between that place and Wavres. He heard the terrible cannonade of Waterloo. No experienced man could have a doubt of its nature; it was a fire of many hundred pieces of cannon, and therefore proved, that two great armies must have been engaged. General Excelmans, who commanded the cavalry, was deeply affected by it; and, addressing the Marshal, said, "the Emperor is in action with the English army; there can be no doubt of the fact, a fire so terrible cannot be a skirmish. Marshal, we ought to march towards the scene of action. I am an old soldier of the army of Italy. I have a hundred times heard General Bonaparte promulgate this principle. If we turn to the left, we shall be on the field of battle in two hours." "I believe you are right," said the Marshal, "but if Blucher attacks on the side of Wavres, and takes me in flank, I shall then be compromised for

not having obeyed my order, which is to march against that General." Count *Gerard* joined the Marshal at this moment, and gave the same advice that General Excelmans tendered to him. "Your order," said he, "expresses that you should have been at Wavres yesterday, and not to-day; the surest plan is, to march on the field of battle. You cannot deny that Blucher has gained a march on you; he was yesterday at Wavres, and you at Gembloux; and who knows now, where he is? If he has joined Wellington, we shall find him on the field of battle, and there your order will be executed to the very letter! If he is not there, your arrival will decide the battle! In two hours we may take our share in the honours of the day; and if we destroy the English army, what do we care for Blucher, already beaten!!" The Marshal appeared convinced; but at that moment, he was informed that his light cavalry had arrived at Wavres, and was in action with the Prussians; that all their forces were united there, and that they consisted of eighty thousand men at least. On hearing this news, he conti-

nued his movement on Wavres, and arrived there at four o'clock in the afternoon. Thinking that he had all the Prussian army before him, he employed two hours in getting into line, and in making his arrangements. It was there he was joined by the officer despatched from the field of battle, at ten o'clock in the morning. General Pajol was now detached with twelve thousand men to Limate, a bridge on the Dyle, about a league in the rear of St. Lambert. That general arrived there at seven o'clock in the evening, and crossed the river whilst Marshal Grouchy attacked Wavres.

IX. Marshal Blucher had passed the night of the 17th at Wavres, with the fourth corps of his army, forming seventy-five thousand men. Informed that the Duke of Wellington had decided to receive battle in front of the forest of Soignes, if he could reckon on his co-operation, the Prussian General detached his fourth corps in the morning; it passed the Dyle at Limate, and formed at St. Lambert. This corps was entire; it was the one which had not been engaged at Ligny. The light cavalry of Blucher,

which scoured the country two leagues round his camp at Wavres, had, as yet, no news of Marshal Grouchy; at seven o'clock in the morning it saw some piquets of flankers only. Blucher therefore concluded, that all the army was united before Mont St. Jean; he put the second corps, commanded by General Pirch in motion, and which was reduced to eighteen thousand men. He marched himself with the first corps, General Zietten's, reduced to thirteen thousand men, and left General Thielman with the third corps in position at Wavres.

The second corps under General Pirch marched by Lasne, while Blucher with the first corps marched on Ohain, where he joined the brigade of English cavalry which was flanking their line; this junction was effected at six in the evening. There he heard that Marshal Grouchy had presented himself before Wavres at four o'clock; that he made preparations for an attack; and that the third corps was not capable of resisting him. Marshal Blucher had no choice. He remained near his principal forces, General Bulow, and the English; and sent an order to

General Thielman to keep his ground as long as possible, and to retire on the combined army if forced to retreat. In point of fact, it was no longer in his power to return to Wavres; he could not reach that place before night was closed in, and if the Anglo-Belgian army was beaten, he would find himself between two fires; whereas, if he continued to march on the Anglo-Belgian army, and that it had the victory, there would be time enough to return against Grouchy. His movement was very slow, the troops being greatly fatigued, and the roads completely broken up, and full of defiles. His two columns, thirty-one thousand strong, opened the communication between General Bulow and the English. The former, who was in full retreat, halted; Wellington, who had been in a state of the utmost despair, and seen nothing before him but the prospect of certain defeat, now saw his safety. The brigade of English cavalry which was at Ohain rejoined him, as well as a part of the fourth division of flankers of the right. If Marshal Grouchy had passed the night before Wavres, as he should have done,

and as he was ordered to do, at night on the 17th, Marshal Blucher would have remained in observation there with all his forces, believing himself pursued by all the French army. If Marshal Grouchy, as he had written in the despatch from his camp at Gembloux, dated two o'clock in the morning, had taken arms at day-break, that is to say, four o'clock in the morning, he would not have arrived at Wavres in time to stop Bulow's detachment; but he would have prevented the three other corps of Marshal Blucher from moving. The victory was still certain; but Marshal Grouchy did not arrive before Wavres until half-past four, and did not attack it until six; it was then too late!!! The French army, sixty-nine thousand strong, which at seven o'clock in the evening, was victorious over an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, occupied half the field of battle of the Anglo-Belgians, and had repulsed Bulow's corps; saw the victory snatched from it by the arrival of Marshal Blucher with thirty thousand six hundred fresh troops, a re-inforcement which increased the allied army in line, to nearly one hundred and fifty thousand

men; that is to say, in a proportion of two and a half against one.

X. As soon as Bulow's attack had been repulsed, the Emperor gave orders to General Drouot, acting Assistant-Major-General of the Guard, to rally all his men, before the farm of La Belle Alliance, where he was with eight battalions ranged in two lines, the remaining eight having marched to support the young guard and defend Planchenoit. In the mean time, the cavalry, which continued to occupy the position on the low ground, whence it commanded all the field of battle, having perceived the movement of General Bulow, but confiding in the reserves of the guard, which it saw ready to keep that General in check, entertained no alarm, and even loudly cheered when it saw him repulsed, waiting the arrival of the infantry of the guard to decide the victory; but it felt the greatest astonishment on perceiving the numerous columns of Marshal Blucher arrive. Some regiments made a retrograde movement; the Emperor perceived this. It was of the highest importance to restore firmness to the cavalry; and seeing that it would

take him a quarter of an hour more to rally all his guard, he put himself at the head of four battalions, and advanced on the left, in front of La Haye Sainte, sending aide-de-camps along the whole line, to announce the arrival of Marshal Grouchy, and to say, that, with a little firmness, victory would soon be decided in our favour. General Reille reunited all his corps, on the left, in front of the castle of Hougoumont, and prepared his attack; it was important that all the guard should engage at once, but the eight other battalions were still behind. Influenced by events, seeing the cavalry disconcerted, and that a reserve of infantry was necessary to support it, he ordered General Friant to march with these four battalions of the middle guard, to meet the enemy's attack; the cavalry recovered itself, and marched forward with its accustomed intrepidity. The four battalions of the guard repulsed all whom they met—charges of cavalry carried terror into the English ranks. Ten minutes after, the other battalions of the guard arrived; the Emperor ranged them by brigades, two battalions in line and two in column,

on the right and left, the second brigade in echelon, which united the advantage of the two orders. The sun was set;—General Friant, wounded, passed by at this moment; he said, that all went on well, that the enemy appeared to form a rear-guard to support his retreat, but that he would be entirely broken as soon as the rest of the guard attacked him. For this, a quarter of an hour was necessary! It was at this very moment that Marshal Blucher arrived at La Haye, and overthrew the French corps by which it was defended, namely, the fourth division of the first corps; it fled in disorder, after opposing a slight resistance. Although it was attacked by a quadruple force, if it had shown the least resolution, thrown itself into the houses, or pierced their ranks, Marshal Blucher would not, as it was night, have had time to force the village. It was there that the cry, *suave qui peut*, is said to have been first heard. The opening made, and line broken, by the want of vigour of the troops at La Haye, the enemy's cavalry inundated the field of battle. General Bulow marched forward—the Count de

Lobau shewed great firmness. The crowd soon became so great, that it was necessary to order the guard, which had formed for an advance, to change its front. This movement was executed with order; the guard faced about, the left towards La Haye Sainte, and the right towards La Belle Alliance, showing its front to the Prussians, and the attack of La Haye; immediately after, each battalion formed a square. The four squadrons on duty charged the Prussians. At that moment the brigade of English cavalry which arrived from Ohain, marched forward. These two thousand horse penetrated between General Reille and the guard. The disorder now became dreadful throughout the field of battle; the Emperor had only time to put himself under the protection of one of the squares of the guard. If General Guyot's division of cavalry of reserve, which followed Kellerman's cuirassiers to engage the enemy, without an order, had not done so, it would have repulsed this charge, prevented the English cavalry from penetrating on the field of battle, and the foot-guards would then have been able to

check the efforts of the enemy. General Bulow marched by his left, always outflanking the field of battle. The night greatly augmented the disorder, and operated as a bar to every thing. Had it been day-light, so that the troops could have seen the Emperor, they would have rallied: whereas nothing could be done in the obscurity of the night. The guard retreated, the fire of the enemy was already but four hundred toises in the rear of the army, and the causeways cut off. The Emperor with his staff, remained a long time on a small elevation with the regiments of the guard. Four pieces of cannon which were planted there, kept up a brisk fire on the plain, the last discharge wounded Lord Uxbridge, general of the English cavalry. By this time there was no longer a moment to lose; the Emperor could not retreat, except through the fields: cavalry, artillery, infantry, all were confusedly mingled together. The staff gained the little town of Genappe; hoping that it might be able to rally a rear-guard there, but the disorder was horrible; all its efforts were made in vain. It was now eleven o'clock:

there being no possibility of organising a plan of defence, the Emperor placed his hopes in Girard's division, the third of the second corps, which he had left on the field of Ligny, and to which he had sent an order to march on Quatre Bras, to support the retreat.

Never did the French army fight better than it did on this occasion; it performed prodigies of valour; and the superiority of the troops, infantry, cavalry, and artillery over the enemy was such, that had not Blucher arrived with his second corps of Prussians, the victory over the Anglo-Belgian army would have been complete, though aided by Bulow's thirty thousand Prussians; that is to say, it would have been gained by sixty-nine thousand men opposed to nearly double their number; for the enemy's troops in the field, before Blucher's arrival, amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand men.

The loss of the Anglo-Belgian army, and that of Bulow's corps, was much greater during the battle, than on our side; and the losses which the French sustained in the retreat, though very

considerable, as six thousand of them were made prisoners, did not, when added to it, amount to those sustained by the allies during the four days which had elapsed, since the commencement of hostilities. The allies, by their own accounts, lost sixty thousand men; viz. eleven thousand three hundred English; three thousand five hundred Hanoverians; eight thousand Belgians, troops of Nassau, Brunswick, &c.; those of the Anglo-Belgian army amounted to twenty-two thousand eight hundred; to which add thirty-eight thousand Prussians;—this makes a general total of sixty thousand eight hundred men. The losses of the French, including those sustained during the rout, and till their arrival at the gates of Paris, was forty-one thousand men.

The imperial guard supported its former reputation; but it found itself engaged under the most unfavorable circumstances; being out-flanked on the right, while the left was inundated with enemies, and those who fled from the field when it began to enter into line. Had this body been able to fight with its flanks supported, it would have repulsed the united

efforts of the two allied armies. During more than four hours, twelve thousand French cavalry were masters of a part of the enemy's field of battle; fought all their infantry, and eighteen thousand of their cavalry, who were repulsed in every charge. Lieutenant General Duhesme, an old soldier of the greatest bravery and covered with wounds, was made prisoner, when endeavouring to rally a rear guard. The Count de Lobau was taken under similar circumstances. General Cambronne of the guard, remained on the field severely wounded. Out of twenty-four English generals, twelve were killed or badly wounded: and the Dutch lost three generals. General Duhesme, although a prisoner, was assassinated on the 19th by a Brunswick hussar: this crime remained unpunished. He was an intrepid soldier, an excellent general—firm and unshaken in good as well as in bad fortune.

CHAPTER VII.

RALLYING OF THE TROOPS.

I. *Rallying of the Army at Laon.—Retreat of Marshal Grouchy.*—III. *Resources which remained to France.*—IV. *Effects of the Abdication of the Emperor.*

I. THE causeway of Charleroi is very wide, it was therefore sufficient for the retreat of the army; the bridge of Genappe is of an equal width, so that five or six files of carriages might pass it abreast; but the commanders of the parks that had been collected there, judged it proper to barricade themselves, by placing carriages on the causeway, in such a manner, as to leave only a passage of about twenty feet. The confusion was soon dreadful. Genappe is situated in a

bottom; the first Prussian troops which pursued the enemy, arrived at eleven o'clock at night on the heights which command it; they succeeded easily in disorganizing a handful of brave soldiers whom the intrepid General Duhesme had rallied, and entered the town; amongst the equipages which they captured, was the travelling carriage of the Emperor, into which he had not entered since the day of his leaving Avesne.

It was usual to bring this vehicle on the field of battle behind the reserves of the guard; it was fitted up, so as to contain a dressing case, change of clothes, a sword, cloak, and an iron bedstead. The Emperor arrived at Quatre Bras about one o'clock in the morning; dismounted at a bivouac, and dispatched several officers to Marshal Grouchy, to announce the loss of the battle, and order him to retreat on Namur. The officers whom he had sent from the field to move Girard's division from Ligny, and put it in position at Quatre Brass, or advance it to Genappe if they had time, brought back the disagreeable intelligence of their not having been able to find that division.

The General of artillery, Negre, an officer of the greatest merit, was at Quatre Bras, with the parks of reserve. But he had only a feeble escort. Some hundreds of horse rallied; Count de Lobau put himself at their head, and took every possible measure to organize a rear-guard. The soldiers of the first and second corps who had passed the Sambre on the bridge of Marchiennes, took that direction again, quitting the causeway at Quatre Bras and Gosselies, to take the cross road. The troops of the guard and of the sixth corps retired on Charleroi. The Emperor sent Prince Jerome to Marchiennes, with an order to rally the army between Avesne and Maubeuge; and repaired himself to Charleroi. When he arrived there, at six o'clock in the morning, a great number of men, particularly cavalry, had already repassed the Sambre, marching on Beaumont. He stopped an hour on the left bank, gave some orders, and directed his course on Philippeville, in order the more easily to communicate with Marshal Grouchy, and to send his orders to the frontiers of the Rhine. After having re-

mained four hours in that town, he proceeded to Laon, where he arrived on the 20th, at four o'clock in the afternoon. Having seen the prefect, and charged his aide-de-camp, the Count de Bussy, to superintend the defence of that important place; he sent the Count Dejean to Guise, and the Count de Flahaut to Avesne. While here, despatches were received from Prince Jerome, who made known that he had rallied more than twenty-five thousand men, and about fifty pieces of cannon in the rear of Avesne; that General Morand commanded the infantry of the guard, and General Colbert the cavalry; that the army augmented every hour; that most of the generals were arrived; that the loss was not so considerable as it was thought to be; more than half of the guns and stores of the artillery were saved; one hundred and seventy pieces of cannon were lost, but the men and horses had arrived at Avesne. The Emperor ordered, that these men and horses should be marched to La Fère to be provided with guns; and charged confidential officers to organize a new field equipage there. Marshal Soult was ordered

to place himself at Laon with the Emperor's staff. The prefect took all the measures necessary, to complete the magazines of the town, and to secure supplies of provisions for an army of, from eighty to ninety thousand men, which would be reunited within a few days round that town. The Emperor anticipating, that the enemy's generals, profiting by their victory, would push on to the Somme; ordered Prince Jerome to quit Avesne with the army on the 22d, and to bring it under Laon, the point of reunion given to Marshal Grouchy and General Rapp. Not being more than twelve hours march distant from Paris, he judged it necessary to proceed there. His presence with the army was useless, during the days of the 21st, 22d, 23rd, and 24th; but he expected to return to Laon on the 25th. After having employed these six days in meeting and preparing for the national crisis; in completing the preparations for the defence of the capital; and in giving activity to all the succours which the depôts and the provinces could furnish. It was easy at that time, supposing what could not well

be doubted, that Grouchy's corps would arrive complete; that the loss of the French would be found inferior to that which the enemy's armies had undergone at the battles of Ligny, Waterloo, and Quatre Bras; and it has, in fact, been fully proved since, that the loss of the Allies amounted to sixty-three thousand men, while that of the French did not exceed forty-one thousand, including the prisoners which were made during the retreat.

II. Marshal Grouchy attacked Wavres at six o'clock in the evening of the 18th. General Thielman opposed a vigorous resistance, but he was beaten. Count *Gerard*, at the head of the fourth corps, forced the passage of the Dyle. Lieutenant General Pajol, with twelve thousand men, had been detached towards Limate, where he repulsed the rear-guard of General Bulow, passed the Dyle, and crowned the opposite heights; but the darkness became so great at ten o'clock, that he could not continue his march, and no longer hearing the cannonade of Mont St. Jean, he took position. Count *Gerard* was severely wounded at the

attack of Wavres, a ball passed through his breast; but, luckily, the wound was not mortal. On the 19th, at day-break, General Thielman attacked Marshal Grouchy, and was vigorously repulsed. The village of Bielau, and all the heights beyond Wavres, were carried by the French. The General of Brigade, Peine, a distinguished officer, was mortally wounded during this attack. Marshal Grouchy gave orders to pursue the enemy, and to march in the direction of Brussels, when he received the news of the loss of the battle at Mont St. Jean, and the Emperor's order to retreat on Namur. This was commenced immediately; the Prussians followed him with precaution; but having advanced too far, they were repulsed, and lost some pieces of cannon, together with several hundred prisoners. General Vandamme took position near Namur, Marshal Grouchy towards Dinant. General Thielman failed in all the attacks which he made. On the 24th, the whole of Grouchy's corps was at Rethel, on the 26th it joined the army at Laon, and amounted to thirty-two thousand men, (independently of followers of

every description,) of which, six thousand and five hundred were cavalry; it was also provided with one hundred and eight pieces of cannon.

III. The situation of France after the battle of Waterloo, was critical, but not desperate. Every thing had been provided for on the supposition that a failure might take place in the attack on Belgium. Seventy thousand men were rallied on the 27th, between Paris and Laon; from twenty-five thousand to thirty thousand men, comprehending the depôts of the guard in the number, were in march to join them from Paris, and the depôts. General Rapp, with twenty-five thousand select troops, was to arrive on the Marne within a few days after. All the losses of the artillery were repaired. Paris alone, contained five hundred field pieces. Thus, an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, equal to that which had passed the Sambre, on the 15th, having a train of artillery of three hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, would cover Paris on the 1st of July. Besides which, it had for its defence, thirty-six thousand national guards,

thirty thousand light troops, six thousand gunners, six hundred pieces of cannon mounted, formidable intrenchments on the right bank of the Seine; and, in a few days, those of the left bank would have been completed. In the meantime, the Anglo-Belgian and Prusso-Saxon armies, enfeebled by the diminution of above eighty thousand men, no longer consisting of more than one hundred and forty thousand, could not march ninety thousand beyond the Somme. Here they would await the co-operation of the Austrian and Russian armies, which could not be on the Marne before the 15th July. Paris had, therefore, twenty-five days to prepare its defence, to complete its arming, supplies of provisions, fortifications, and to draw troops together, from every part of France. Even on the 15th of July, there would be but thirty thousand or forty thousand men on the banks of the Rhine; the great mass of the Russian and Austrian armies could not enter into action until later. Neither arms, ammunition, nor officers, were wanting in the capital; the light troops might be easily increased to eighty thousand, and the

field artillery augmented to six hundred pieces of cannon.

Marshal Suchet, united to General Lecourbe, would have at the same period, more than thirty thousand men before Lyons, independently of the garrison of that city, which would be well armed, provisioned, and strongly intrenched. The defence of all the strong places was secured; they were commanded by chosen officers, and guarded by faithful troops. All might have been repaired; but character, energy, and firmness, were required on the part of the officers, the government, the chambers, and of the whole nation!! They should have been animated by sentiments of honour, glory, and of national independence; finally, their eyes should have been fixed on Rome, after the battle of Cannæ; and not on Carthage, after Zama!!! If France elevated herself to that height, she was invincible; her population contained more of the elements of military prowess than any other in the world; the means of carrying on war were in abundance, and amply sufficient for every want.

V. On the 21st June, Marshal Blucher and the Duke of Wellington forming two columns, entered the territory of the empire; on the 22nd the powder magazine of Avesne blew up, and the place surrendered. On the 24th, the Prussians entered Guise, and the Duke of Wellington into Cambray. On the 26th, he was at Péronne. During all this time, the strong places of the first, second, and third lines of Flanders were invested. Meanwhile, these two Generals heard of the abdication of the Emperor, which took place on the 22nd, the insurrection of the Chambers, the discouragement which these circumstances occasioned in the army, and the hopes which domestic traitors conceived from them: they determined, in consequence, to march immediately on the capital, under the walls of which they arrived during the last days of June, with less than ninety thousand men; this was a step which would have been fatal to them, and drawn on their total ruin, if they had hazarded it before Napoleon; but that prince had abdicated!!! The troops of the line, which were at Paris,

more than sixty thousand men, belonging to the depôts of the guard, the light troops of the national guard of that great capital, were devoted to him, and he could have fulminated the internal enemies of France!! But, to develope the motives which regulated his conduct in this important occasion, and which has had such fatal consequences to him and to France; it will be necessary to take a more extended retrospect, which we shall do in the following book.

CHAPTER VIII.

OBSERVATIONS.

I.—II.—III.—IV.—V.—VI.—VII.—VIII.—IX. *Observations.*

I. 1st Observation. The Emperor has been reproached; 1st, with having resigned the dictatorship at a moment when France had most need of a dictator: 2ndly, with having changed the constitutions of the Empire, at a time when he should have thought of nothing but of preserving it from invasion: 3rdly, with giving cause for alarm to the Vendeans, who had refused at first to take arms against the imperial government: 4thly, with having assembled the chambers, when it was sufficient to assemble the armies: 5thly, with having abdicated and left France at the mercy of a divided and inexperienced assembly. For after all,

if it be true, that it was impossible for the Prince to save the country, without the confidence of the nation, it is not less true that the nation, in these critical circumstances, could not save, either its honour or its independence, without Napoleon.

We shall make no reflection on matters which are searched into, and discussed at length, in book X.

II. 2nd Observation. The art with which the movements of the different divisions of the army were concealed from the knowledge of the enemy, at the opening of the campaign, cannot be too much remarked. Marshal Blucher and the Duke of Wellington were surprised, they saw nothing, knew nothing, of all the movements which were effected near their advanced posts.

To attack the two hostile armies, the French might outflank their right or their left, and pierce their centre. In the first case they would pass by Lille, and meet the Anglo-Belgian army. In the second they would proceed by Givet and Charlemont, and there meet the Prusso-Saxon army. These two armies

would be united, because they pressed against each other from the right on the left, and vice versa. The Emperor adopted the plan of covering his movements by the Sambre, and of piercing the line of the two armies at Charleroi, the point of their junction; manœuvring with rapidity and skill, he might hope to separate them. Thus he found in the secrets of art supplementary means, which supplied the place of one hundred thousand men, whom he wanted. These plans were conceived and executed with audaciousness and sagacity.

III. 3rd Observation. The energy of character in many of the generals, had been damped by the events of 1814; they had lost something of that boldness and resolution; of that confidence, which had contributed so much to the successes of former campaigns.

1st, On the 15th June, the third corps ought to have been under arms at three o'clock in the morning, and reach Charleroi at ten o'clock; it did not arrive until three o'clock in the afternoon.

2dly, On the same day, the attack of the woods before Fleurus, which had

been ordered to commence at four o'clock in the afternoon, did not take place until seven o'clock. Night intervened before the troops could enter Fleurus, where it had been the project of the Chief to place his head-quarters that very day. This loss of seven hours was very injurious at the opening of a campaign.

3dly, Ney was ordered to march on the 16th, with forty-three thousand men who composed the left, which he commanded beyond Quatre Bras, to take position there at day-break, and even to intrench himself there; he hesitated and lost eight hours: the Prince of Orange, with only nine thousand men, preserved on the 16th, that important position until three o'clock in the afternoon, where the Marshal received the order dated from Fleurus at noon; and when he saw the Emperor was about to come to action with the Prussians, he marched on Quatre Bras, but with only half of his troops; having left the other half two leagues behind, to cover his retreat: this he forgot until six o'clock, when he felt the want of it for his own defence. In former campaigns this General would have oc-

cupied the position beyond Quatre Bras, at six o'clock in the morning, defeated and taken all the Belgian division, and turned the Prussian army, by rapidly marching a detachment on the causeway of Namur, and which would have fallen on the rears of their line of battle: or by moving with celerity on the causeway of Genappe, he would have surprised, while on their march, and destroyed the division of Brunswick, and the fifth English division, which came from Brussels, and thence marched to meet the first and third English divisions, which arrived by the causeway of Nivelles, both the one and the other without artillery or cavalry, and harassed by fatigue. Always the first in action, Ney forgot the troops which were not immediately under his eyes. The bravery which a General-in-Chief should show, is different from that which a General of Division ought to manifest; as the bravery of the latter is different from that of a Captain of grenadiers.

4thly, The advanced guard of the French army did not arrive before Waterloo on the 17th, until six o'clock

in the evening. Had it not been for vexatious delays, it would have arrived there at three o'clock; the Emperor appeared to be exceedingly disconcerted by it, and said, pointing to the sun, "*What would I not give to have this day the power of Joshua, and to retard its march only two hours.*"

IV. 4th Observation. Never did the French soldiers show more courage, cheerfulness, and enthusiasm, than on this occasion; they were full of the sentiment of their superiority. Their confidence in the Emperor was unlimited, perhaps increased; but they were suspicious and distrustful of their other chiefs; the treasons of 1814 were always present to their minds; every movement which they did not comprehend created disquietude; they thought themselves betrayed. When the first shots were fired at St. Amand, an old corporal approached the Emperor and said to him: "Sire, distrust Marshal Soult, be assured that he betrays us." "Be tranquil," replied the Emperor, "I answer for him, as I would for myself." Towards the middle of the engagement, an officer reported to

Marshal Soult, that General Vandamme had gone over to the enemy, and that his soldiers loudly demanded that the Emperor should be informed of the circumstance. When the battle was nearly terminated, a dragoon, his sabre covered with blood, hastened up, crying; "Sire, come quickly to our division, General d'Henin harangues the soldiery to go over to the enemy."—"Have you heard him?"—"No, Sire, but an officer, who seeks your Majesty has seen him, and charged me to tell it to you." At this moment, the brave General d'Henin, after having repulsed a charge of the enemy, received a cannon-shot, which carried away a thigh.

On the 14th at night, Lieutenant General Bourmont, Colonel Clouet, and the staff-officer Viloutrey, deserted to the enemy. Their names will be held in execration as long as the French people form a nation. This desertion greatly augmented the uneasiness of the troops.

It appears to be fully proved, that the fatal cry of "*sauve qui peut*," proceeded from the fourth division of the first corps, on the night of the battle of

Waterloo, when the village of La Haye was attacked by Marshal Blucher. That village was not defended as it ought to have been. It is equally probable, that many officers, who were the bearers of orders, disappeared. But if several officers deserted, not one soldier rendered himself guilty of that crime; while many who were wounded, killed themselves on the field of battle, when they learned that the army was routed.

V. *5th Observation.* The French army was divided into three parts on the 17th. Sixty-nine thousand men under the orders of the Emperor marched on Brussels, by the causeway of Charleroi. Thirty-four thousand, under the orders of Marshal Grouchy, directed themselves on that capital, by the causeway of Wavres, in pursuit of the Prussians. From seven to eight thousand men remained on the field of Ligny; viz. three thousand of Girard's division to succour the wounded, and form in unforeseen cases a reserve at Quatre Bras. From four to five thousand men, forming the parks of reserve, remained at Fleurus and Charleroi. Grouchy's thirty-four thou-

sand men, provided with one hundred and eight pieces of cannon, were sufficient to overthrow the Prussian rear-guard in all the positions which it might take; press on the retreat of the conquered army and keep it in check. It was a glorious result of the victory of Ligny, to be able thus to oppose thirty-four thousand men, to an army which had been one hundred and twenty thousand strong. The sixty-nine thousand men under the orders of the Emperor, were sufficient to beat the ninety thousand men, of which, the Anglo-Belgian army consisted. The disproportion which existed on the 15th between the two belligerent masses, which was then in the proportion of one to two, was much changed; it being no longer in a greater proportion than of three to four. If the Anglo-Belgian army had beaten the sixty-nine thousand men who marched against it, people might have reproached Napoleon with having calculated badly; but it is positively proved, even by the acknowledgment of the enemies, that had not Blucher arrived, the Anglo-Belgian army would have lost its field of battle between nine and ten

o'clock at night. Had not Marshal Blucher with his first and second corps arrived at eight o'clock, the march on Brussels in two columns during the day of the 17th, possessed many advantages; the left repulsed and checked the Anglo-Belgian army; the right, under Marshal Grouchy, pursued and harassed the Prusso-Saxon army; while all the French forces would be united at night, on a line of five leagues between Mont St. Jean and Wavres. But the fault of Marshal Grouchy in halting on the 17th at Gembloux, after a march of only two leagues, instead of pushing on to Wavres; that is to say, marching three leagues further, was aggravated and rendered irreparable by that which he committed the day after, the 18th, in losing twelve hours, and not reaching Wavres until four o'clock in the afternoon, instead of arriving there at six o'clock in the morning. 1st. Charged with the pursuit of Marshal Blucher, Grouchy lost sight of him during twenty-four hours, from four in the afternoon of the 17th, till four o'clock in the afternoon of the 18th. 2ndly. The movement of the cavalry towards the flat, pre-

vious to Bulow's attack being repulsed, was a disastrous accident; the intention of the Emperor was to order this movement an hour later, and to cause it to be supported by the sixteen battalions of infantry of the guard, and one hundred pieces of cannon. 3rdly, The mounted grenadiers and the dragoons of the guard, commanded by General Guyot, engaged without any order to that effect. Thus, at five o'clock in the afternoon, the army was without a reserve of cavalry. If, at half past eight o'clock that reserve had existed, the storm which swept the field of battle would have been mitigated, if not avoided altogether; the enemy's charges of cavalry once repulsed, both the opposing armies would have remained on the field of battle. In spite of the successive arrival of General Bulow and Marshal Blucher, the French would still have had the advantage; for Marshal Grouchy's thirty-four thousand men having one hundred and eight pieces of cannon, were fresh, and bivouacked on the field of battle. The constant rule in all these battles, was, that the grenadiers and dragoons of the guard should not

lose sight of the Emperor, or charge without an order verbally given by his majesty to the general who commanded it. Marshal Mortier, who had the principal direction of the guard, quitted his command on the 15th, at Beaumont, just as hostilities commenced, nor was he replaced afterwards; many inconveniences arose from this circumstance.

VI. *6th Observation.* 1st, The French army manœuvred on the 13th and 14th on the right of the Sambre. It encamped on the night of the 14th half a league from the Prussian advanced posts; Marshal Blucher was, notwithstanding, ignorant of all our movements, and when on the morning of the 15th, he learned at his head-quarters in Namur, that the Emperor had entered Charleroi, the Prusso-Saxon army was still cantoned in an extent of country of thirty leagues in length; so that he could not assemble it in less than two days. He ought to have moved his head-quarters to Fleurus, as early as the 15th of May; concentrated the cantonments of his army in a radius of eight leagues; keeping advanced guards on the Meuse and Sambre. His army might then

be united at Ligny on the 15th at noon; and have awaited the attack of the French army there, or marched against it on the evening of the 15th, so as to hem it in by the Sambre.

2dly, In the mean time, Marshal Blucher, though surprised, persisted in the project of uniting his army on the heights of Ligny, behind Fleurus, with the chance of being attacked there, before the junction of his division could take place.

On the 16th, in the morning, he had, as yet, only united two of them, while the French army was already at Fleurus. The third grand division joined on the above day, but the fourth, which General Bulow commanded, could not arrive in time to take any part in the battle. Marshal Blucher ought, as soon as he knew that the French were at Charleroi, that is to say, on the evening of the 15th, to have given, as a point of assembling to his army, not Fleurus nor Ligny, which were already under the cannon of his enemy, but Wavres, where the French could not arrive until the 17th. By doing so, he would have gained all the day of the 16th, and the night between the 16th and

17th, to effect the junction of his whole army.

3d, After having lost the battle of Ligny, the Prussian General, instead of making his retreat on Wavres, ought to have effected it on the army of the Duke of Wellington, either towards Quatre Bras, since that General had maintained himself there, or on Waterloo. The retreat of Marshal Blucher on the morning of the 17th was completely erroneous; for, the two armies which, during the evening of the 16th, were only three thousand toises distant from each other, having a fine causeway for their communication, which entitled them to be considered as united, found themselves more than ten thousand toises from each other on the 17th, and separated by defiles and impassable roads.

The Prussian General violated the three grand rules of war:—1st, *Of keeping the cantonments close together.*—2dly, *Of establishing a point of assemblage, where the troops could all arrive before the enemy.*—3dly, *Of effecting a retreat upon his reinforcements.*

VII. *7th Observation.*—1st, The Duke

of Wellington was surprised in his cantonments. He should have concentrated them, on the 15th of May, round Brussels, holding advanced guards on the great roads of Flanders. The French army manœuvred three days within reach of his advanced posts; it had, in fact, commenced hostilities twenty-four hours before, and established its head-quarters at Charleroi twelve hours before; while the English General at Brussels was ignorant of all that had taken place, and the cantonments of his army were still in full security, occupying an extent of ground of more than twenty leagues.

2ndly, The Prince of Saxe-Weimar, who made part of the Anglo-Belgian army, was in position before Frasne, on the 15th, at four o'clock in the evening, and knew that the French army was at Charleroi. If he had directly sent an aide-de-camp to Brussels, the latter would have arrived there at six in the evening; but it was eleven o'clock at night before the Duke of Wellington was informed that the French army was at Charleroi: thus he lost five hours in a most critical situation, and against a man with whom the loss of a single hour was of great importance.

3dly, The infantry, cavalry, and artillery of the Anglo-Belgian army were cantoned separately, in such a manner that the infantry found itself engaged at Quatre Bras without cavalry or artillery; this caused it to suffer a severe loss, since, in order to resist the charges of the cuirassiers, it was obliged to keep itself in close columns, under the grape of fifty pieces of cannon. Thus were these brave soldiers slaughtered, without cavalry to protect, or artillery to avenge them. As the three branches cannot do without each other for a moment, they should be invariably cantoned and placed in such a manner as to be always able to give reciprocal assistance.

4thly, The English General, though surprised, established Quatre Bras as the point of reunion for his army, whilst that place had been already twenty-four hours in the power of the French; thus exposing his troops to be beaten in detail, and as they arrived; the danger which he made them encounter was still more considerable, by his sending them into action without artillery or cavalry. By this measure he delivered his infantry in

detachments, and without the assistance of the two other branches, to the enemy. His general rendezvous ought to have been at Waterloo. He would then have had all the day of the 16th and the night between the 16th and 17th, which was a sufficient time, for the assembly of his whole army—infantry, cavalry, and artillery. The French could not arrive there until the 17th, at which time it would have found all his army in position.

VIII. *8th Observation.* The English General fought the battle of Waterloo on the 18th. This measure was contrary to the interests of his nation—to the general plan adopted by the Allies—and it violated all the rules of war. It was not the interest of England, which requires so many men to recruit its armies in the East Indies, the American Colonies, and its vast establishments at other places, that this force should be wantonly exposed to a sanguinary struggle, which might make Great Britain lose the only army it had, and would, at least, shed the best blood of the nation. The plan of the Allies was, to act *en masse*, and not to engage in any partial actions. Nothing

was more contrary to their interest and plan than to expose the success of their cause to the chances of a single battle, with a nearly equal force, in which all the probabilities were against them.

If the Anglo-Belgian army had been destroyed at Waterloo, what service could the Allies derive from the number of armies, which were preparing to cross the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees?

2dly. The English General in adopting the resolution to receive battle at Waterloo, founded it entirely on the anticipated co-operation of the Prussians. But this co-operation could not take place until late in the day; he remained there, exposed alone, from four in the morning, till five o'clock in the evening; that is to say, during a period of thirteen hours. A battle does not, usually last more than six hours; that co-operation was, therefore, illusory. But to reckon on the assistance of the Prussians, he supposed, that the whole of the French army was before him: thus, then, he pretended to defend his field of battle with ninety thousand men, troops of different nations, for thirteen hours, against an army of one hundred

and four thousand French. This calculation was evidently false, he could not have maintained himself three hours, every thing must have been decided at eight o'clock in the morning, and the Prussians would have arrived to be taken in the rear. So that the two armies would have been destroyed in one day. If he calculated, that conformably to the rules of war, a part of the French army would have followed the Prussian army; it ought, from that moment, be evident to him, that he could derive no assistance from them, and that the Prussians beaten at Ligny having lost from twenty-nine to thirty thousand men on the field of battle, and having had twenty thousand men dispersed; being pursued by from thirty-five thousand to forty thousand victorious French, would not divide their force, nor believe in the possibility of their being sufficiently strong to maintain themselves. In that case, the Anglo-Belgian army would have had to sustain the efforts of sixty-nine thousand French alone, during the whole of the 18th. There is no Englishman who does not agree, that the result of this struggle

was doubtful until night; and that without the aid of Bulow, their army, composed of different nations, was not so constituted, as to be able to support the shock of the imperial army for four hours.

During the whole night, between the 17th and 18th, the weather was extremely bad; this rendered the ground impassable until nine o'clock in the morning. The loss of six hours from daylight, was entirely to the advantage of the enemy; but, ought their General to make the fate of such a struggle depend on the weather? Marshal Grouchy, with thirty-four thousand men, and one hundred and eight pieces of cannon, discovered the secret which appeared *undiscoverable*, of not being on the field of battle at Mont St. Jean, on the 18th, nor before Wavres. But, had the English General a promise from the Marshal, that he would not be found at either place? The conduct of Marshal Grouchy was as much out of the reach of all human foresight, as that of an earthquake which would have swallowed up the whole of his troops.

Recapitulation. If Marshal Grouchy, as the English and Prussian Generals believed, during the whole of the night of the 17th, and all the morning of the 18th, had been on the field of Mont St. Jean, and the weather had permitted the French army to draw up in order of battle at four o'clock in the morning; the British troops would have been cut up, and scattered before seven o'clock in the evening. And, if the weather had not permitted the French army to form its order of battle until one o'clock in the afternoon, the fate of the Anglo-Belgian army would have been decided; its remains thrown back beyond the forest, or in the direction of Halle, and thus there would be full time in the evening to go and meet Marshal Blucher, who would in that case have experienced a similar destiny. Had Marshal Grouchy encamped before Wavres, on the night of the 17th, the Prussian General would have sent no detachment to save the English army, which would have been completely beaten by the sixty-nine thousand men opposed to it.

3rdly, The position of Mont St. Jean was ill-chosen. The first requisite of a field of battle, is to have no defiles in its rear. The English General did not know how to make use of his numerous cavalry during the battle; nor did he consider that he ought, and would be attacked on his left, but imagined that the attack would be made on his right. In spite of the diversion effected in his favour by General Bulow with the thirty thousand Prussians, he would have retreated twice during the day had it been in his power to do so. Thus, in fact, strange caprice of human events! the injudicious choice of his field of battle, which rendered all retreat impossible, was itself the cause of his success!!!

IX. *9th Observation.* It may be asked what the English General ought to have done, after the battle of Ligny and the action at Quatre Bras? Posterity will not have two opinions on the subject. He ought to have crossed the forest of Soignes on the night of the 17th, by the causeway of Charleroi, while the Prussian army ought to have crossed it on the causeway of Wavres; the two

armies should have united at the following dawn towards Brussels; left rear-guards, to defend the forest; gained some few days, to afford time to the Prussians dispersed by the battle of Ligny, to rejoin their army; reinforced themselves by the fourteen English regiments, which were in garrison in the fortresses of Belgium, or that had disembarked from America at Ostend, and suffer the French Emperor to manœuvre as he might think proper. In that case would the latter, with an army of one hundred thousand men, have crossed the forest of Soignes, to attack the combined armies united, two hundred thousand strong, and in position? This would certainly be what the allies ought most to have desired! Would he have contented himself with taking position? His inaction could not last long, as three hundred thousand Russians, Austrians, Bavarians, &c. already arrived on the Rhine, would, in a few weeks, be on the Marne, and oblige him to hasten to the assistance of his capital. It would be then that the Anglo-Prussian army could march, and join the allies under Paris, it would have run no risk, and suffered no

loss, while it would have acted conformably to the interests of the British Nation, to the general plan of operations adopted by the allies, and the rules prescribed by the art of war. From the 15th to the 18th, the Duke of Wellington manœuvred precisely as his enemy wished; whereas he did nothing that the former was fearful he would do. The English infantry was firm and solid, but their cavalry might have acted better. The Anglo-Belgian army was saved twice during the day, by the Prussians; the first time, before three o'clock, by the arrival of General Bulow with thirty thousand men, and the second time, by the arrival of Marshal Blucher with thirty-one thousand men. On that day sixty-nine thousand French beat one hundred and twenty thousand men. The victory was torn from them between eight and nine o'clock at night, but by one hundred and fifty thousand men!

What would the people of England have said when they had learned the catastrophe of their army, and that the best blood of the nation had been lavished, to support the cause of kings

against their people, of privileges against equality, of oligarchists against liberty; finally, of the impious principles of the Holy Alliance, AGAINST PUBLIC OPINION AND THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE!!!

APPENDIX.

NOTE.

THE first Chapter being very succinct, it has appeared expedient to annex thirteen documents, most of which are official; these will serve to convey much useful information concerning the topics discussed in that Chapter. It was thought that the Reader would like to have before him the four additional papers, tending to illustrate the third Chapter, and recording the state of agitation which existed in France during the first fortnight of April, 1815.

APPENDIX.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE FIRST CHAPTER.

No. I.

Official Account of the Progress of Napoleon from the Isle of Elba to Paris, published in the Moniteur on the 23d of May, 1815.

THE Emperor, informed that the French people have lost all the rights which they had acquired during twenty-five years of battles and of victories, and that the army had been attacked in its glory; resolved to change such a state of things; to restore the imperial throne, which could alone guarantee the rights of the nation; and to make that throne disappear, which the people had proscribed, as guaranteeing no interests but those of a small number of individuals.

On the 26th of February he embarked, with four hundred of his guard, on-board the *Inconstant* brig of war of twenty-six guns. Three other vessels, which were in the harbour, and seized for the occasion, received two hundred infantry, a hundred Polish light horse, and the battalion of flankers, consisting of two hundred men. The wind was southerly, and appeared favourable. Capt. Chautard hoped that the Isle of Capraia would be doubled before day-light, and that the squadron would then be clear of the French and English cruisers which hovered about that part of the coast. This hope was illusory. Cape St. André of Elba was scarcely doubled, when the wind fell, and the sea became calm: only six leagues were made; and, at dawn of day, the squadron was still between Capraia and Elba, in view of the cruisers.

The danger appeared imminent. Many seamen advised returning to Porto-Ferrajo; but the Emperor ordered the voyage to be continued, resolving, in case of necessity, to take possession of the French cruisers. These were composed of two frigates and a brig; but all that was known of the attachment of the crews to the national interests, left no doubt that they would hoist the tri-coloured flag,

and range themselves on our side. Towards noon the wind freshened a little: a quarter of an hour after, the squadron was off Leghorn. A frigate now appeared, five leagues to leeward; another was seen on the coast of Corsica; and, farther off, a ship of war, bearing down upon the *Inconstant*, before the wind. At six o'clock, the Emperor's vessel passed by one, which they recognized to be the *Zephyr*, commanded by Capt. Andrieux, an officer distinguished as much by his talents as by his patriotism. It was at first proposed to speak this vessel, and make her hoist the tri-coloured flag. In the meantime, the Emperor ordered the soldiers of the Guard to take off their caps, and conceal themselves under the bulwark, as he preferred passing on without being known; reserving the plan of forcing the change of flag when it became necessary to have recourse to that measure. Lieut. Taillade, of the *Inconstant*, an officer in the French navy, was very well known to Capt. Andrieux; and, as soon as they were close enough, they hailed. Capt. Andrieux was asked if he had any commissions for Genoa, some compliments were exchanged, and the two vessels, passing in contrary directions, soon lost sight of each other; Capt. Andrieux

little suspecting what the vessel he had spoken contained!

The wind continued to increase in the night of the 27th. At day-light a ship of the line was discovered: she appeared to be steering for St. Florent or Sardinia. It was soon perceived that this ship did not take much notice of the brig.

On the 28th, at seven o'clock in the morning, the coast of Noli was seen: at noon, Antibes was in sight. The *Inconstant* entered the Gulf of Juan on the 1st of March, at three o'clock in the afternoon.

The Emperor ordered that a captain of the Guard, with twenty-five men, should disembark before the rest of the troops on-board, to secure the coast-battery, if there happened to be one. This captain, though he had no authority for doing so, conceived the idea of making the battalion which was in Antibes change its cockade: he therefore imprudently threw himself into the place; upon which the officer who commanded there for the king ordered the drawbridges to be raised, and shut the gates. His troops took arms, but they respected their old comrades and their cockade. However, the attempt of the captain failed, and his men remained prisoners at Antibes.

The disembarkation was completed at five o'clock the same day: a bivouac was established until the moon should rise. The Emperor put himself at the head of this small band of intrepid soldiers, to the fate of whom such important interests were attached. He repaired to Cannes, thence to Grasse, through St. Vallier, and arrived at the village of Cérénon on the evening of the 2d, having proceeded twenty leagues on the first day. The people of Cannes received the Emperor with sentiments which were the first presage of success to the enterprise.

On the 3d the Emperor slept at Barème; on the 4th he dined at Digne. From Castellane to Digne, and in all the departments of the Lower Alps, the peasants, informed of the march of the Emperor, hastened from all sides to the road, and manifested their sentiments with an energy that left no doubts as to their real wishes.

On the 5th, General Cambronne, with an advanced guard of forty grenadiers, took possession of the bridge and fortress of Sisteron. The Emperor slept at Gap; to which place he was escorted by ten horsemen and forty grenadiers.

The enthusiasm which the presence of he

Emperor inspired amongst the inhabitants of the Lower Alps, the hatred which they bore to the nobility, sufficiently demonstrated what was the general wish of Dauphiny.

On the 6th, at two in the afternoon, the Emperor departed from Gap: the whole population of the town was on the road to receive him.

At St. Bonnet, the inhabitants, seeing the smallness of his troop, were alarmed for his safety, and proposed to sound the *tocsin*, for the purpose of uniting the villages, and to accompany him *en masse*.—"No, (said the Emperor,) your expressions prove to me that I have not deceived myself; they are a pledge of the sentiments of my soldiers. Those whom I shall meet will join my standard; the more numerous they are, the more will my success be secured: therefore remain tranquilly at home."

Many thousands of proclamations, addressed by the Emperor to the army and the people, had been printed at Gap; and given by the soldiers of the Guard to their comrades. These proclamations spread throughout Dauphiny with the rapidity of lightning.

On the same day, the Emperor pushed forward to sleep at Corps. The forty men of the

advanced guard of General Cambronne proceeded to Mure. They met with the advanced guard of a division of six thousand men, troops of the line, who had arrived from Grenoble, to arrest their march. General Cambronne wished to parley with the advanced posts: they answered, that it was forbidden them to hold any communication. They fell back however three leagues, and went to take up a position between the lakes at the village of ****. The Emperor, informed of the circumstance, proceeded towards the spot: he found on the line opposed to him a battalion of the 5th regiment of the line, a company of sappers, and a company of miners; in all, from seven to eight hundred men. He sent his orderly officer, Col. Raoul, to inform these troops of his arrival; but the officer could not make himself heard: they only answered, by telling him of the prohibition which had been given to hold any communication. Upon this, the Emperor dismounted, and went up to the battalion, followed by the Guard, carrying a sabre under his arm. Making himself known, he said, that the first soldier who wished to kill his Emperor, might now do it: the unanimous cry of "Live the Emperor!" was their answer. This brave regiment had been under the or-

ders of his Majesty during his first campaigns in Italy. The Guard and the soldiers now embraced each other. The soldiers of the 5th immediately tore off their cockades, and substituted the tri-coloured one with enthusiasm. When they were drawn up in line, the Emperor addressed them in these words: "I have come with a handful of intrepid men, because I depend on the people, and on you. The throne of the Bourbons, is it legitimate, since it has not been erected by the nation? It is contrary to the national will, because it is opposed to the interests of our country, and that it exists for the sake of a few families only. Appeal to your fathers; interrogate all the inhabitants who arrive here from the environs: you will learn from their own mouths the real situation of things. They are menaced with the return of the tithes, privileges, feudal rights, and with all the abuses from which your successes had delivered them. Is it not true, peasants?"—'Yes, sire, (they unanimously exclaimed:) they wished to fix us to the glebe: you come, like the angel of the Lord, to save us.'

The brave soldiers of the battalion of the 5th demanded permission to oppose the division which covered Grenoble. The march

was now continued, in the midst of those who augmented the crowd of followers every instant. Vizelle distinguished itself by its enthusiasm.—"It is here that the Revolution originated! (cried these brave people!) it is we who first dared to claim the privileges of men. It is also here that French liberty resuscitates, and that France recovers its honour and its independence!"

Notwithstanding the fatigue which the Emperor suffered, he wished to enter Grenoble that night. When between Vizelle and Grenoble, the young adjutant-major of the 7th of the line came to announce, that Col. Labedoyère, deeply affected by the dishonour which covered France, and actuated by the noblest sentiments, had detached himself from the division of Grenoble, and advanced with his regiment to meet the Emperor. Half an hour afterward, this brave corps came, to double the force of the imperial troops. The Emperor made his entry into the suburb of ******, at nine in the evening.

The troops had been brought back to Grenoble, and the gates of the town were shut. The ramparts were covered by the 3d regt. of engineers, composed of two thousand sappers, all old soldiers, covered with honourable

wounds; by the 4th artillery of the line, the regiment in which, twenty-five years before, the Emperor had been made a captain; by the two extra battalions of the 5th of the line, the 11th of the line, and the faithful hussars of the 4th.

The National Guard, and all the populace of Grenoble, were placed behind the garrison, and made the air ring with shouts of "Live the Emperor!" The gates being burst open, the Emperor entered Grenoble at ten, amidst an army and people animated with the most lively enthusiasm.

The day after, the Emperor was addressed by the municipality, and all the departmental authorities. The discourses of the military chiefs, and those of the magistrates, were unanimous. All said, that Princes imposed by a foreign force were not legitimate, and that they were not bound by any engagement to those whom the nation did not desire.

At two o'clock, the Emperor reviewed the troops, a large portion of the population of the department being present. Cries of "Down with the Bourbons!" "Down with the enemies of the people!" "Long live the Emperor, and a government of our choice!" were heard on every side. The garrison of Grenoble com-

menced a forced march, immediately afterwards, to act on Lyons.

A remark which has not escaped attention is, that these six thousand men were in an instant, adorned with the national cockade, and each with an old one nearly worn out; for, on taking off his tri-coloured cockade, every soldier had concealed it in his knapsack. Not one was purchased at Grenoble.—"It is the same, (said they, in passing before the Emperor,) that we wore at Austerlitz!" "This (said others,) we had at Marengo!"

On the 9th the Emperor slept at Bourgoin. Here the multitude and enthusiasm increased, if possible.—"We have long expected you, (said these worthy citizens to the Emperor;) you are at length arrived, to deliver France from the insolence of the nobility, from the pretensions of the priests, and from the disgrace of a foreign yoke!" From Grenoble to Lyons, the march of the Emperor was one continued triumph. His Majesty was in his open carriage, moving slowly, environed by an immense number of peasants, singing songs, expressing the noble sentiments of the people in this patriotic province.—"Ah! (said the Emperor,) here I again find the sentiments which, twenty years ago, made me hail

France with the title of the Great Nation! Yes, you are still the great nation, and you will always be so!"

In the meantime, the Count d'Artois, the Duke of Orleans, and many marshals, arrived at Lyons. Money had been lavished on the troops, and promises to the officers. They wished to cut off the bridge of La Guillotière, and that of Morand. The Emperor laughed at these ridiculous preparations: he could have no doubt as to the wishes of the people of that large city, still less on the disposition of the soldiers. Orders were given to General Bertrand to unite boats at Mirbel, with the intention of passing the river in the night, and of intercepting the road of Moulins and Mâcon, as the Prince wished to interdict him from crossing the Rhone. A reconnoitring party of the 4th hussars arrived at La Guillotière about four o'clock, and was welcomed with shouts of "Live the Emperor!" by the immense population of a suburb which had always distinguished itself by its attachment to the country. The passage of Mirbel was countermanded; and the Emperor galloped on to Lyons, at the head of the troops which were to forbid his entry!

The Count d'Artois had done every thing

to make sure of the troops. He was ignorant that nothing can be done in France, by those who are the agents of foreigners there, nor to any one who does not ground his hopes on national honour and the cause of the people! Passing before the 13th regt. of dragoons, he said to a brave soldier, bearing the marks of many scars,—"Come, my friend, cry 'Live the King!'"—"No, sir, (replied the dragoon,) no soldier will fight against his father! I cannot answer you, except by crying 'Long live the Emperor!'" The Count d'Artois entered his carriage, and quitted Lyons, escorted by a single *gendarme*.

The Emperor crossed La Guillotière at nine in the evening, almost without any escort, but surrounded by an immense population.

On the following day, the 11th, he reviewed all the military divisions of Lyons; and the brave General Brayer, at its head, commenced his march, to advance on the capital.

The sentiments which the inhabitants of that great city, and the peasants around, testified to the Emperor, affected him so much, that he could not express what he felt, merely saying, "Lyonese, I esteem you!" This was the second time the acclamations of that

city were a presage of the new destinies reserved to France.

On the 13th, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the Emperor arrived at Villefranche, a small town of 4000 souls, which, however, contained more than 60,000 during his stay. He alighted at the Hotel de Ville, where a great number of wounded military were presented to him.

He entered Macon, at seven o'clock, always surrounded by the people of the neighbouring districts. Here he testified his astonishment at the few efforts which the inhabitants made, in the last war, to defend themselves against the enemy, and sustain the honour of the Burgundians. The answer was, "Sire, why did you give us a bad prefect?"

At Tournus, the Emperor had only cause to eulogize the inhabitants for their conduct and patriotism, which had, under similar circumstances, distinguished Tournus, Châlons, and St. Jean-de-Losne. At Châlons, which had during forty days resisted the enemy's forces, and defended the passage of the Sâone, the Emperor required an account to be given to him of all the acts of valour; and, not being able to go to St. Jean-de-Losne, he sent the decoration of the Legion of Honour to the

mayor of that city. On this occasion the Emperor exclaimed, "It is for you, brave citizens, that I instituted the Legion of Honour, and not for the emigrants pensioned by our enemies!".

At Châlons the Emperor received the deputation from Dijon, which had just driven away the prefect and mayor, whose conduct, in the last campaign, dishonoured Dijon and its inhabitants. The Emperor deprived him of his functions, named another, and confided the command of the division to the brave General Devaux.

On the 15th the Emperor slept at Autun; and thence proceeded to Avallon. The same sentiments that he found on the mountains of Dauphiny, were also reiterated on this part of his road. He restored all the functionaries who had been stripped of their offices for having concurred in the defence of their country against the invasion of foreigners. The inhabitants of Chiffey, who had been the objects of persecution to a waspish and irritable sub-prefect of Sémur, for having taken arms against the enemies of our country. The Emperor ordered a brigadier of gendarmerie to arrest this officer, and lodge him in the prison of Avallon.

On the 17th the Emperor breakfasted at Vermanton, and proceeded to Auxerre, where the prefect Gamot had remained faithful to his duty. The brave 14th regiment had trampled upon the white cockade. The Emperor learned that the 6th Lancers had in like manner, assumed the tri-coloured cockade, and marched on Montereau, to defend the bridge there against a detachment of the royal guard, which wished to blow it up. These young men, not being as yet accustomed to lance-wounds, fled at the first sight of the 6th: two of them were overtaken, and made prisoners.

At Auxerre, Count Bertrand, adjutant-general to the forces, gave an order to unite all the boats, in order to embark the army, which already consisted of four divisions, and convey it to Fossard that night, so as to enable it to reach Fontainebleau at one o'clock in the morning.

Before his departure from Auxerre, the Emperor was joined by the Prince of Moskwa, who had caused the tri-coloured flag to be displayed throughout his government.

The Emperor arrived at Fontainebleau on the 20th, at four o'clock in the morning; at seven he heard that the Bourbons had quitted

Paris, and that the capital was free. He set out immediately, and entered the Thuilleries at nine o'clock, when he was least expected.

Thus was terminated, without shedding a drop of blood, or meeting the smallest obstacle, the legitimate enterprise which has re-established the nation in its rights and in its glory; which has effaced the stain that treason and the presence of armed foreigners had spread over the capital: thus is verified that passage of the Emperor's address to the soldiers, in which he said, The eagle, with the national colours, would fly from steeple to steeple, to the towers of Notre Dame.

In eighteen days, the brave battalion of the Guard has crossed the space between the Gulf of Juan and Paris; a march which it usually requires forty-five days to accomplish.

As soon as the Emperor had arrived at the gates of Paris, he invited the whole army, which the Duke de Berry commanded, to come and meet him. Officers, soldiers, generals, light infantry, lancers, dragoons, cuirassiers, and artillery, all went to hail their general, whom the choice of the people, and the wishes of the army, had elevated to the throne; and the tri-coloured cockade was assumed by every soldier, each having one in

his knapsack. All trampled on the white cockade, which, during twenty-five years, has been the rallying sign of the enemies of France and of the people.

On the 21st, at one o'clock in the afternoon, the Emperor reviewed all the troops which composed the army of Paris. The whole capital has witnessed the sentiments of enthusiasm and attachment which animated these brave soldiers. All had re-conquered their country! all had issued forth from oppression! A sight of the national colours recalled those generous sentiments which have always distinguished the French nation! After the Emperor had passed through the ranks, the troops were formed into squares, when he thus addressed them:

"Soldiers! I came into France with six hundred men, because I calculated on the love of the people, and the recollection of the old soldiers. I thank you for it. The glory of what we have just done, is entirely with the people and yourselves. Mine is, to have known and appreciated your merits.

"The throne of the Bourbons was illegitimate, since it had been restored by the hands of foreigners; for it had been proscribed by the wishes of the nation, expressed by all our

national assemblies: in fact, it offered no guarantee, except to the interests of a small number of arrogant men, the pretensions of whom are opposed to our rights.

Soldiers! the imperial throne can alone guarantee the rights of the people; and, above all, the first of our interests,—that of past glory.

Soldiers! we are about to march, and drive those princes away, the auxiliaries of foreigners. The nation will not only second us by its wishes, but will also follow the impulse which we give. The French people and myself rely on you. We do not wish to interfere with the affairs of foreign nations; but woe be unto those who would interfere with ours!"

This discourse was welcomed by the reiterated acclamations of the people and of the soldiers.

A moment afterwards, General Cambronne, and the officers of the Elba battalion, appeared with the ancient eagles of the Guard. The Emperor re-commenced, and said to the soldiers:

"Behold the officers of the battalion who accompanied me in my misfortune: all who compose it are my friends: they were dear to my heart while in exile! As often as

I saw them, they represented to me the different regiments of the army; for, in these six hundred brave soldiers, there are men of all the regiments: they recalled to my memory those grand days, of which the recollection is so dear; for all are covered with honourable wounds. In esteeming them, I esteemed all the soldiers of the French army! They bring back your eagles. May they serve as a rallying point! In giving them to the Guard, I give them to all the army.

"Treason, and unhappy circumstances, had covered them with a funereal crape! but, thanks to the French people and to you, they appear again, resplendent with all their glory. Swear that they will be always found where the interest of the country shall call them! that traitors, and those who would wish to invade our territory, can never sustain the aspect of them!"

'We swear it!' cried all the soldiers; after which, they defiled past the Emperor, whilst the band struck up, "Let us watch over the safety of the empire."

No. II.

Proclamation of his Majesty the Emperor to the French People.

Gulf of Juan, 1st March, 1815.

NAPOLEON, by the grace of God, and the Constitutions of the State, Emperor of the French, &c. &c. &c.

FRENCHMEN!

The defection of the Duke de Castiglione delivered Lyons to our enemies, without defending it. The army of which I had confided to him the command, was, by the number of its battalions, the bravery and patriotism of the troops which composed it, fully able to beat the Austrian corps, as well as to attack the rear and the left flank of the enemy's army which threatened Paris.

The victories of Champaubert, Montmirail, and Chateau-Thierry; of Vauchamp, Mormans, Montereau, Craonne, Rheims, d'Arcis-sur-Aube, and of Saint-Dizier; the insurrections of the brave peasantry of Loraine, Champagne, Alsace, Franche-Comté, and of Bur-

gundy; and the position which I had taken on the rear of the enemy's army, separating him from his magazines, parks of reserve, his convoys, and all his equipages, had placed him in a desperate situation. The French were never on the point of being more powerful; whilst the flower of the enemy's army was lost without hope of recovery: it would have found its tomb in those provinces which it had so mercilessly sacked, when the treason of the Duke de Ragusa delivered up the capital, and disorganized the army. The unexpected conduct of these two generals, who betrayed at once their country, their prince, and their benefactor, changed the fortune of the war. The disastrous situation of the enemy was such, that, at the end of the action which took place before Paris, he was without ammunition, in consequence of his separation from his parks of reserve.

In these new and trying circumstances, though my heart was torn, I remained firm, consulting the interests of the country alone. I exiled myself on a rock. My life was, and ought still to be, useful to you. I did not permit that the great number of citizens who wished to accompany me, should share my fate: I believed their presence useful to

France, and I took only a handful of brave men, who were necessary for my safety.

Elevated to the throne by your choice, all that has been done without you, is illegitimate. During the last twenty-five years, France has acquired new interests, new constitutions, a new glory, which cannot be secured, except by a national government, and by a dynasty arising from these new circumstances. A prince who reigned over you; who was seated on my throne by the force of the same armies which have ravaged our territory, would seek in vain to prop himself up by the principles of the feudal law: he could only secure the rights and honours of a small number of individuals, enemies of the people, who have for twenty-five years condemned them in all our national assemblies. Your interior tranquillity, and your exterior consideration, would be lost for ever.

Frenchmen! I have heard your complaints and your wishes in my exile. You claim a government chosen by yourselves, which is alone legitimate. You accused my long slumber. I was censured with sacrificing the grand interests of the country to my own repose.

I have crossed the seas, amidst perils of

every kind: I arrive amongst you to resume my rights, which are your own. Whatever individuals have done, written, or said, since the capture of Paris, will be for ever unnoticed by me. It will have no influence on the recollection which I preserve of the important services they have rendered: for there are events of such a nature as to be above human organization.

Frenchmen! there is no nation, however small, which has not had the right of withdrawing itself, and which has not withdrawn itself, from the dishonour of obeying a prince imposed by an enemy merely victorious for a moment. When Charles VII. returned to Paris, and overthrew the ephemeral throne of Henry VI. he acknowledged that he held the throne through the valour of his brave adherents, and not from a Prince Regent of England.

It is also to you only, and to the intrepid army, that I boast, and always will boast, of owing every thing.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

By order of the Emperor,
The Grand Marshal, Acting Adjutant-general of the Army,
(Signed) BERTRAND.

No. III.

Proclamation of his Majesty the Emperor to the Army.

Gulf of Juan, 1st of March, 1815.

SOLDIERS!

We have not been conquered. Two men, who issued from our ranks, have betrayed our laurels, their country, their prince, and their benefactor. Those whom we have seen overrun all Europe during twenty-five years, to raise up enemies against us, who have passed their lives in combatting us in the ranks of foreign armies, and in cursing France; can they pretend to command and enchain our eagles?—they who have never been able to sustain the sight of them! Shall we suffer them to inherit the fruit of our glorious labours; to take possession of our honours, of our properties; to calumniate our glory? If their reign lasted, every thing would be lost, even the recollection of the immortal days on which we have conquered. With what exasperation they declaim against them! They seek to poison what the world admires; and, if

defenders of our glory still remain, it is amongst the enemies whom we have combatted in the field of battle.

Soldiers! I have heard your voice while in exile. I have arrived, through every obstacle, and many perils. Your general, called to the throne by the choice of the people, and elevated on your shields, is restored to you. Come and join him.

Tear off those colours which the nation has proscribed, and which, during twenty-five years, have served to rally all the enemies of France. Put on the tri-coloured cockade: you wore it on the days of our grand achievements!

We should forget that we have been the masters of nations; but we should not suffer any of them to meddle in our affairs.

Who is it that pretends to domineer over us? Who has the power to do so? Resume those eagles which you had at Ulm, Austerlitz, Jéna, Eylau, and Friedland; at Tudella, Eckmulh, Essling, Wagram, Smolensk, the Moskwa, Lutzen, Vurken, and Montmirail. Do you think that the handful of French, now so arrogant, can sustain the view of them? They will return to their old haunts, and

reign there, as they pretend to have reigned during nineteen years.

Your property, rank, glory, those of your children, have no greater enemies than princes whom foreigners have imposed on us. They are the enemies of our glory, because the recital of the many heroic actions which have characterized the French people, combatting against them to shake off their yoke, is their condemnation.

The veterans of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, of the Rhine, Italy, and Egypt; that of the West, and of the Grand Army, are humiliated: their honourable scars are branded: their successes would be crimes. These brave soldiers would be rebels, if, as the enemies of the people pretend, the legitimate sovereigns were in the midst of the foreign armies.

All the honours, rewards, and their affections, are for those who have served them against the country and against us.

Soldiers! range yourselves under the colours of your chief. His existence is composed of yours;—his rights are those of the people and your own;—his interest, his honour, and his glory, are no others than your interest, honour, and glory. Victory will march at the

charging-step. The eagle, with the national colours, will fly from steeple to steeple, to the towers of Notre Dame. Then you may boast of what you will have done:—you will be the deliverers of the country.

In your old age, surrounded and esteemed by your fellow-citizens, they will proudly hear you relate your achievements. You may each of you then say with pride:

"I also formed part of that grand army which entered twice within the walls of Vienna, those of Rome, Berlin, Madrid, and of Moscow; which delivered Paris from the stain that treason and the presence of the enemy had stamped upon it."

Honour to these brave soldiers, the glory of the country! and eternal shame to the criminal Frenchmen, in whatever rank fortune may have given birth to them, who combatted twenty-five years with foreigners, to lacerate the bosom of the country.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

By order of the Emperor,

The Grand Marshal, Acting Adjutant-general of the Army,

(Signed) BERTRAND.

No. IV.

Gulf of Juan, 1st March, 1815.

The Generals, Officers, and Soldiers, of the Imperial Guard, to the Generals, Officers, and Soldiers, of the Army.

SOLDIERS AND COMRADES!

We have preserved to you your Emperor, notwithstanding the numerous snares which were laid for him. We bring him back to you, through seas, and in the midst of a thousand dangers. We have reached the sacred land of the country, with the national cockade and the imperial eagle. Trample under foot the white cockade. It is the emblem of your shame, and of the yoke imposed by foreigners and treason. We would have shed our blood in vain, had we suffered the conquered to give us the law!

Ever since the few months the Bourbons have reigned, they have convinced you that they have forgotten nothing, and learned nothing. They have always governed by prejudices inimical to our rights and those of the people.

Those who have borne arms against their country, against you, are heroes:—you are rebels, whom they have the goodness to pardon, until, by the introduction of a Swiss guard into Paris, and by the successive placing of new officers in your ranks, their power shall be sufficiently consolidated for the formation of an army of emigrants! Then, to obtain honours or rewards, it will be necessary to have borne arms against the country: in order to become an officer, it will be necessary to have a birth conformable to their prejudices. The soldier must always remain a soldier: the people will have the burdens, while they enjoy the honours.

Whilst awaiting the moment in which they would dare to destroy the Legion of Honour, they have given its decoration to all the traitors, and have lavished, in order to degrade, it. They have taken from it all the political prerogatives which we had acquired at the expense of our blood.

They have appropriated to themselves the four hundred millions of the extraordinary domain on which our grants were assigned, which were the patrimony of the army, and the price of our labours.

Soldiers of the great nation! Soldiers of the

great Napoléon! will you consent to serve under a prince, who, during twenty years, was the enemy of France, and who boasts of owing his throne to the Prince Regent of England?

All that has been done without the consent of the people and our own suffrage, is illegitimate.

Soldiers! Retired officers! Veterans of our armies! come with us, and re-establish that throne which is the palladium of our rights; and let posterity exclaim, on some future day, "Foreigners, seconded by traitors, had imposed a shameful yoke on France; but the brave men of the nation rose up, and the enemies of the people, of the army, disappeared, and returned into nothingness."

Soldiers! the *general* beats. We march. Hasten to arms! Join our Emperor, and our tri-coloured banners.

(Signed by)

The General of Brigade, Baron CAMBRONNE, Major of the 1st Regt. of the Chasseurs of the Foot Guard; Lieut.-Colonel Chevalier MALLET.—Artillery of the Guard: CORNUEL, RAOUL, Captains; LANOUE, DEMONS, Lieutenants.—Infantry of the Guard: LOUBERT, LAMOURETTE, MONPÉZ, COMBES, Captains; DEQUEUX, THIBAULT, CHAUMET,

FRANCONNIN, MALLET, Lieutenants; LABORDE, EMERY-MOISSOT, ARNAUD.—Light Cavalry of the Guard: the Baron JERMANOUSKY, Major; BALINSKI, SCHULTZ, Captains; FINTOSKI, and SKORONSKI, Lieutenants.

(Signed)

The General of Division, Aide-de-Camp of his Majesty the Emperor, Deputy Adjutant-general of the Guard,

Comte DROUOT.

No. V.

Address of the Council of State, presented on the 26th.

SIRE,

The members of your Council of State have thought it an act of duty, in the moment of their first meeting, solemnly to profess the principles which direct their opinions and their conduct. They come to present to your Majesty the deliberation which they have unanimously taken, and to supplicate you to accept the assurance of their devotion and gratitude, of their respect and attachment to your sacred person.

COUNCIL OF STATE.

Extract from the Register of Deliberations.

(SITTING OF THE 25TH MARCH, 1815.)

On resuming its functions, the Council of State thinks that it should make known the principles which regulate its opinions and its conduct.

THE SOVEREIGNTY RESIDES IN THE PEOPLE: IT IS THE SOLE LEGITIMATE SOURCE OF POWER.

In 1789, the nation re-conquered its rights, long usurped or disowned.

The National Assembly abolished the feudal monarchy, established a constitutional monarchy, and a representative government.

THE RESISTANCE OF THE BOURBONS TO THE WISHES OF THE PEOPLE BROUGHT ON THEIR DOWNFALL, AND THEIR BANISHMENT FROM THE FRENCH TERRITORY.

Twice the people consecrated by its votes the new form of government, established by its representatives.

In the year VIII. Bonaparte, already crowned by victory, was raised to the go-

vernment by the consent of the nation, and a constitution created the consular magistracy.

The Senatus-consultum of the 16th Thermidor, year X. named Bonaparte consul for life.

The Senatus-consultum of the 28th Floreal, year XII. conferred on Napoléon the imperial dignity, and rendered it hereditary in his family.

These three solemn acts were submitted to the acceptation of the people, who consecrated them by nearly four millions of votes.

Thus, during twenty-two years, the Bourbons had ceased to reign in France: they were forgotten there by their contemporaries. Strangers to our laws, to our institutions, to our morals, to our glory, the actual generation knew them not, except by the recollection of the foreign war which they had excited against the country, and the intestine dissensions which they had kindled there.

In 1814, France was invaded by the armies of the enemies, and the capital occupied. The invaders created a pretended provisional government. They assembled a minority of the senators, and forced them, contrary to their mission and against their will, to destroy the existing constitutions, to overturn

the imperial throne, and to recall the family of the Bourbons.

The Senate, which had been only instituted for the preservation of the constitutions of the empire, recognized, itself, that it had not the power to change them. It decreed, that the project of a constitution which it had prepared should be submitted to the acceptation of the people, and that Louis-Stanislaus-Xavier should be proclaimed King of the French, as soon as he should have accepted the constitution, and sworn to observe it and to cause it to be observed.

The abdication of the Emperor Napoleon was nothing but the result of the unhappy situation to which France and the Emperor had been reduced by the events of the war, by treason, and by the occupation of the capital. The sole object of the abdication was, to avoid civil war, and the effusion of French blood. Not being consecrated by the wish of the people, that act could not destroy the solemn contract formed between the people and the Emperor; and, even though Napoléon might personally abdicate the crown, HE HAD NOT THE POWER TO SACRIFICE THE RIGHTS OF HIS SON, CALLED TO REIGN AFTER HIM.

In the mean time, a Bourbon was named

Lieutenant-general of the Kingdom, and took the reins of government.

Louis-Stanislaus-Xavier arrived in France. He made his entry into the capital, and took possession of the throne, according to the order established in the ancient feudal monarchy.

He had not accepted the constitution decreed by the Senate: he had not sworn to observe it; it had not been submitted to the acceptation of the people; the people even, subjugated and awed by the presence of foreign armies, could not express freely or validly its wish.

Under their protection, after thanking a foreign prince for having made him remount the throne, Louis-Stanislaus-Xavier dated the first act of his authority the nineteenth year of his reign; thus declaring that the acts which had emanated from the will of the people, were the produce of a long revolt. He granted voluntarily, and by the free exercise of his royal authority, a constitutional charter, called an Ordinance of reformation; and, as a full sanction, he merely caused it to be read in the presence of a new corps, which he had just created, and of an assemblage of deputies, that was not free, and did not accept it, of which not one was authorized to consent to a

change, and of which two-fifths were not actually representatives.

All these acts are therefore illegal. Made in the presence of hostile armies, and under foreign domination, they are entirely the effect of violence. They are essentially null; and attack the honour, the liberty, and the rights, of the people.

The adhesions given by individuals and by functionaries, without authority, have not been able to annihilate, nor supply the want of, the consent of the people, expressed by votes solemnly invoked and legally given.

If these adhesions, as well as the oath taken, could have been obligatory for the persons who made them, they would cease to be so, as soon as the government which received them ceased to exist.

The conduct of the citizens who, under that government, served the state, cannot be blamed. They are even worthy of praise: they profited by their position to defend the national interests, and to oppose the spirit of re-action and counter-revolution which desolated France.

The Bourbons themselves had constantly violated their promises: they favoured the pretensions of the feudal nobility; they shook

the sales of the national properties of whatever origin; they prepared the re-establishment of the feudal rights and of the tithes; they menaced all the new creations; they declared war against all liberal opinions; they attacked all the institutions which France had acquired at the expense of its blood, preferring to humiliate the nation, rather than unite themselves to its glory; they stripped the Legion of Honour of its revenues, and of its political rights; they lavished its decorations, in order to degrade it; they took from the army, the pride of the nation, their pay, ranks, and honours, to give them to emigrants and to chiefs of revolt; they wished, in fine, to reign, and oppress the people, by emigrants.

Profoundly affected by its humiliation and its misfortunes, France called, with all its wishes, the national government, the dynasty bound to its new interests, to its new institutions.

When the Emperor approached the capital, the Bourbons wished in vain to repair, by extempore laws, and tardy oaths to their constitutional charter, the outrages committed against the nation and the army. The time of illusions was past: confidence was for ever lost. No arm was raised to defend them:

the nation and the army flew to meet their deliverer.

The Emperor, in re-mounting the throne to which the people had elevated him, restored the people to their most sacred rights. He does no more than recal to their execution the decrees of the representative assemblies, sanctioned by the nation: he returns to reign by the sole principle of legitimacy, which France has recognized and consecrated for twenty-five years, and to which all the authorities bound themselves by oaths, from which the will of the people could alone disengage them.

The Emperor is called upon to guarantee anew, by institutions, (and he has pledged himself to it, in his proclamations to the nation and to the army,) all the liberal principles, individual liberty, and equality of rights, the liberty of the press, and the abolition of the censorship, the liberty of worship, the vote of the constitutions and of the laws by the representatives of the nation, legally elected, the national properties of every origin, the independence, the immutability, of the tribunals, the responsibility of the ministers, and of all the agents of power.

In order the better to consecrate the rights and the obligations of the people and of the monarch, the national institutions should be revised in a grand assembly of the representatives, already announced by the Emperor.

Until the re-union of this grand representative assembly takes place, the Emperor should exercise, and cause to be exercised, according to the existing constitutions and laws, the powers which they have delegated to him; which could not be taken from him, which he could not abdicate without the assent of the nation, and which the wish and the general interest of the French nation call upon him to resume.

(Signed)

Comte DEFERMON, Count REGNAULT DE SAINT-JEAN-D'ANGELY, Count BOULAY, Count ANDREOSSY, Count DARU, Count THEBAUDEAU, Count MARET, Baron DE POMMEREUL, Count NAJAC, Count JOLLIVET, Count BERLIER, Count MIOT, Count DUCHATEL, Count DUMAS, Count DULAULOY, Count PELET DE LA LOZERE, Count FRANCAIS, Count DE LAS-CAZES, Baron COSZAZ, Baron MARCHANT, Count JAUBERT, Count LAVALETTE, Count REAL, GILBERT DE VOISINS, Baron QUINETTE, Count MERLIN, Chevalier JAUBERT, Baron BELLEVILLE, Baron D'AL-

PHONSE, Baron FELIX, Baron MERLET, CHARLES MAILLARD, GASSON, Count DE LABORDE, Baron FINOT, Baron JANET, Baron DE PREVAL, Baron FAIN, Baron CHAMPY, Count DE LACUÉE, Baron FREVILLE, Baron PELET, Count DE BONDY, Chevalier BEUVERE.

(Signed) Count DEFERMON.

The Secretary-general of the Council of State,

(Signed) Baron LOCRÉ.

His Majesty's Answer.

Princes are the first citizens of the state. Their authority is more or less extensive, according to the interests of the nations which they govern. Even the sovereignty is not hereditary, but because the interests of the people require it to be so. Out of these principles, I know no legitimacy.

I have renounced the ideas of a grand empire, of which, in fifteen years, I had only placed the basis. Henceforth, the happiness and the consolidation of the French empire will be the object of all my thoughts.

No. VI.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.

(SITTING OF SUNDAY, 2D APRIL, 1815.)

Report of the Commission of the Presidents of the Council of State.

1. In consequence of the reference which has been made to it, the commission, composed of the presidents of the sections of the Council of State, has examined the Declaration of the 16th March, the Report of the Minister of General Police, and the papers which are joined to them.

2. The Declaration is in a form so mutilated, conceived in terms so strange, expresses ideas so anti-social, that the commission was inclined to regard it as one of those supposititious productions, by which contemptible men seek to change public opinion.

3. But the verification of the documents drawn up at Metz, and the examination of the couriers, have established the fact, that the above Declaration was sent by the members of the French Legation at Vienna. It

should consequently be considered as adopted and signed by them.

4. It is under this first point of view that the commission has believed it to be its duty to commence the examination of a production, which has no example in the annals of diplomacy, and in which Frenchmen, men invested with a public character the most respectable, commence by a species of act of outlawry; or, to speak more plainly, by instigating the assassination of the Emperor Napoléon.

5. We say, with the Minister of Police, that this Declaration is the work of the French plenipotentiaries; because those of Austria, Russia, Prussia, and of England, could not have signed an act, which the sovereigns and the nations to whom they belong would be eager to disavow.

6. Besides, these plenipotentiaries, who are generally parties to the Treaty of Paris, know that Napoléon has been recognized there as retaining the title of Emperor, and as sovereign of the Isle of Elba. They would have designated him by his titles, and would not have departed, either in the substance or in the form, from the respectful deference which they impose.

7. They would have felt that, according to the laws of nations, the prince the least strong by the extent or the population of his states, enjoys, as to his character political and civil, all the rights belonging to every sovereign prince, equally with the most powerful monarch; and that Napoléon, recognized under the title of Emperor, was not, any more than themselves, subject to the jurisdiction of the Congress of Vienna.

8. The oblivion of these principles, impossible to suppose in plenipotentiaries who weigh the rights of nations with reflection, wisdom, and maturity, is not astonishing when it is manifested by some French ministers, to whom their conscience reproaches more than one treason, with whom fear has produced passion, and whose reason is bewildered by remorse.

9. These persons may have risked the fabrication and publishing of a paper, such as the pretended Declaration of the 13th of March, in the hope of arresting the march of Napoléon, and of deceiving the French people with regard to the sentiments of foreign powers.

10. But it is not given to them to judge of

a nation which they have disowned, betrayed, and delivered to foreign armies.

11. This nation, brave and generous, revolts against all that bears the character of meanness and of oppression, its affection increases when the object of them is menaced by a crying injustice; and the assassination, to which the first phrases of the declaration of the 13th of March provoke, will find no arm to accomplish it, either amongst the twenty-five millions of French, of whom the majority has followed, guarded, and protected Napoleon, from the Mediterranean to the capital; nor amongst the eighteen millions of Italians; the six millions of Belgians or borderers of the Rhine; and the numerous populations of Germany, who, in this solemn conjuncture, have not pronounced his name without a respectful recollection; nor, in the bosom of the English nation, indignant at the supposition, and whose honourable sentiments disavow the language which has been dared to be put into the mouths of the sovereigns.

12. The people of Europe are enlightened: they estimate the rights of Napoleon, the rights of the allied princes, and those of the Bourbons.

13. They know that the convention of Fontainbleau is a treaty between sovereigns. Its

violation, the entry of Napoleon on the French territory, could only, like every infraction of a diplomatic act, like every hostile invasion, bring on an ordinary war; of which the result could not be as to the person, but to be conqueror or conquered, free or a prisoner of war; not as to the possessions, but to preserve them or lose them, to increase them or to diminish them; and that every thought, every measure, every flagitious attack against the life of a prince at war with another, is a thing unheard of in the history of the nations and the cabinets of Europe.

14. By the violence and passion, by the oblivion of principles, which characterize the declaration of the 13th of March, are recognized the envoys of the same prince, the organs of the same councils, which also, by the ordinance of the 9th of March, outlawed Napoleon, also invoked on him the daggers of assassins, promising a salary to any person who should produce his head.

15. And yet, what has Napoleon done? he has honoured, by affording security to the men of all nations, charged with the infamous mission to which they were appointed. He has shown himself moderate and generous,

even towards the persons who had devoted him to death.

16. When he spoke to General Excelmans, who was marching towards the column which closely followed, Louis-Stanislaus-Xavier; to Gen. Count d'Erlon, who was to receive him at Lille; to Gen. Clausel, who went to Bordeaux, where the Duchess d'Angoulême was; to Gen. Grouchy, who marched to stop the civil troubles excited by the Duke d'Angoulême; orders were given by the Emperor, that the persons of these individuals should be respected and sheltered from every danger and violence, during their march out of the French territory, and until they should quit it.

17. Nations and posterity will judge on what side a respect for the right of nations has been in this grand conjuncture, as well as for those due to a sovereign, and for the rules of war, principles of civilization, and maxims of laws, civil and religious. Yes! it is for them to pronounce between Napoleon and the House of Bourbon.

18. If, after having examined the pretended declaration of Congress, under this first aspect, it is discussed in its relations with the diplomatic conventions, the treaty of Fontainbleau of the 11th of April, ratified by the

French government, it will be found, that its violation is not to be imputed to any others than those who reproach Napoleon with its violation.

19. The treaty of Fontainbleau has been violated by the Allied Powers and by the House of Bourbon, in what relates to the Emperor Napoleon and his family; as well as in all that touches the interests and the rights of the French nation.

20. I. The Empress Maria Louisa and her son were to have obtained passports and an escort, to proceed to the Emperor; but, far from executing that solemn promise, the wife was violently separated from the husband, the son from the father; and this, while he laboured under those painful circumstances, in which the strongest mind has occasion to seek consolation and support in the bosom of its family, and in its domestic affections.

21. II. The safety of Napoleon, of the imperial family, and of their suite, was guaranteed* by all the Powers: yet bands of assassins were organized in France, under the eyes of the French government, and even by its orders, (as will soon be proved, by the trial of

* Vide Art. 14, of Treaty.

De Maubreuil,) to attack the Emperor, his brothers, and their wives: in default of the success which they hoped, from this first branch of the plot, a seditious movement was prepared at Orgon, on the route of the Emperor, to attempt his life, by means of some brigands stationed there. They sent to Corsica, as governor of that island, one of Georges' emissaries, the Sieur Broulart, elevated, expressly for the purpose, to the rank of *Maréchal de Camp*, well known in Brittany, Anjou, Normandy, La Vendée, and England, by the blood which he has shed, in order that he might prepare and render the crime sure; and, in fact, since his arrival at Elba, many assassins have attempted to gain the guilty and atrocious salary which was promised them by the murder of Napoleon.

22. III. The Duchies of Parma and Placentia were given, in full property, to Maria Louisa, for herself, her son, and his descendants; and, after many refusals to put them in possession, they have consummated the injustice by an absolute spoliation, under the illusory pretext of an exchange, without valuation, proportion, consent, or sovereignty; and the documents existing at the Foreign office, which we have caused to be produced to us,

prove that it is on the solicitations, and by the intrigues, of the Prince of Benevento, that Maria Louisa and her son have been stripped.

23. IV. There was to be given to the adopted son of Napoleon, the Prince Eugene, who has rendered many services to France, where he was born, and won the affection of Italy, which adopted him,—a suitable establishment out of France; and he has obtained nothing.

24. V. The Emperor had stipulated (see 9th article of the Treaty) in favour of the distinguished soldiers of the army, the preservation of their grants from the fund called *Monte Napoleone;* he had also reserved, on the extraordinary domains, and on other funds of the Civil list, means of recompensing his servants, of paying the soldiers who attached themselves to his destiny: all was swept away, and kept by the ministers of the Bourbons. An army-agent, Mr. Bresson, went uselessly to Vienna to claim for them the most sacred of properties,—the price of their courage and of their blood.

25. VI. The preservation of the properties, movable and immovable, of the family of the Emperor, is stipulated by the same Treaty, (vide 6th Art.); and it has been stripped of both species of property, viz. by force of arms

in France, and robbers commissioned to do so in Italy; by the violence of the military chiefs, in both countries, as well as sequestrations and seizures solemnly ordered.

26. VII. The Emperor Napoleon was to receive six millions, and his family 2,500,000 francs a-year, according to the distribution established by Art. 6. of the Treaty. The French government constantly refused to fulfil this engagement, and Napoleon would have soon seen himself obliged to disband his faithful guard, through want of means for its payment, if he had not found, in the grateful remembrances of the bankers and merchants of Genoa and Italy, the honourable resource of a loan of twelve millions, which was offered to him.

27. VIII. Finally, it was not without a motive that they wished, by all means, to remove from Napoleon these companions of his glory, models of devotion and constancy, undoubted guarantees of his safety and life. The Isle of Elba was assured to him in full property, (3d Art. of the Treaty,) and the resolution to strip him of it desired by the Bourbons, solicited by their agents, was adopted at the Congress.

28. If Providence, in its justice, had not provided otherwise, Europe would have seen

an attack made on the person and the liberty of Napoleon, to be afterwards banished at the mercy of his enemies, far from his family, and separated from his servants, either by being sent to St. Lucia, or by being sent to St. Helena, which they had assigned him as a prison.

29. When the Allied Powers, yielding to the imprudent wishes and cruel entreaties of the House of Bourbon, condescended to the violation of the solemn contract, on the faith of which Napoleon had disengaged the French nation from its oaths; when he himself, and all the members of his family, saw themselves menaced, attacked in their persons, properties, affections, and all their rights, stipulated in their favour as princes, in those even secured by the laws to the simple citizens, what could Napoleon do?

30. Should he, after having endured so many offences, supported so many injustices, consent to the complete violation of the engagements entered into with him, on resigning himself, personally, to the lot which they prepared for him, and abandon his wife, son, family, and faithful servants?

31. Such a resolution seems above the strength of human will: yet Napoleon might have taken it, if the peace and happiness of

France would have been the price of this new sacrifice. He would have devoted himself again for the French people; from whom, as he wishes to declare to all Europe, he boasts of holding every thing; to whom he wishes to refer every thing; to whom alone he wishes to answer for his actions, and to devote his life.

32. It was for France alone, and to spare it the misfortunes of an intestine war, that he abdicated the crown in 1814. He restored to the French people the rights which he held from them; he left them free to choose a new monarch, and to found their liberty and happiness on institutions calculated to protect both.

33. He hoped to secure to the country the preservation of all it had acquired by twenty-five years of combats and of glory, the exercise of its sovereignty in the choice of a dynasty, and the stipulation of the conditions on which it would be called to reign.

34. He expected from the new government, respect for the glory of the armies, the rights of the brave, the guarantee of all the new interests, of those interests born and maintained, for a quarter of a century, resulting from all the laws, political and civil, observed, and revered, since that time, because they are iden-

tified with the manners, customs, and wants, of the nation.

35. Far from that, every idea of the sovereignty of the people has been set aside.

36. The principle on which has reposed all the legislation, political and civil, since the Revolution, has been set aside equally.

37. France has been treated, by the Bourbons, as a revolted country re-conquered by the arms of its ancient masters, and enslaved anew to a feudal domination.

38. Louis-Stanislaus-Xavier has disowned the treaty which, alone, had rendered the throne of France vacant, and the abdication which, alone, permitted him to mount it.

39. He has pretended to have reigned nineteen years; thus insulting both the governments, established since that time, and the people which have consecrated them by its suffrages, and the army which has defended them; and even the sovereigns, who have recognized them in their numerous treaties.

40. A charter, drawn up by the Senate, all imperfect as it was, has been put in oblivion.

41. They have imposed on France a law, pretended constitutional, as easy to elude as to revoke, and in the form of the simple royal ordinances, without consulting the nation;

without hearing even, these corps become illegal, phantoms of national representation.

42. As the Bourbons have ordained without right, and promised without guarantee, so have they eluded treaties without good faith, and executed them without fidelity.

43. The violation of a pretended charter has not been restrained, except by the timidity of the government, and the extent of the abuses of authority has not been bounded but by its feebleness.

44. The dislocation of the army, the dispersion of its officers, the exile of many, the abasement of the soldiers, the suppression of their grants, the privation of their pensions, the reduction of the compensation awarded to the legionaries, the stripping them of their honours, the pre-eminence of the decorations of the feudal monarchy, the contemning of the citizens, designated anew under the title of *the third class*, the stripping, prepared and already commenced, of the purchasers of the national domains, the actual diminution of the value of those which persons were obliged to sell, the return of feudality in its titles, privileges, and rights, the re-establishment of the ultra-montané principles, the abolition of the Gallican church, the annihilation of the Con-

cordat, the re-establishment of the tithes, the intolerance reviving from an exclusive worship, the domination of a handful of nobles over a people accustomed to equality: This is what the Bourbons have either done, or wished to do, for France!

45. It is under such circumstances that the Emperor Napoleon has quitted the Isle of Elba: such are the motives of the determination which he has taken, and not the consideration of his personal interests, so feeble, in his estimation, compared with those of the nation to which he has consecrated his existence.

46. He has not brought war into the bosom of France; he has, on the contrary, extinguished that which the proprietors of the national domains, forming four-fifths of the proprietors in the nation, would have been forced to make against their spoliators; that war which the citizens, oppressed, debased, and humiliated, by the nobles, would have been obliged to sustain against their persecutors.

47. He has come to deliver France, and he has been received as its liberator!

48. He has arrived almost alone: he has travelled 220 leagues without obstacles or combats; he has resumed the throne for-

saken by the Bourbons without resistance, in the midst of the capital, and attended by the acclamations of an immense majority of the citizens; and all this while the discarded family have not been able to arm an individual, either in the army, their household, in the National Guards, or amongst the people, to enforce their claims.

49. And now that he is replaced at the head of the nation, which had already chosen him three times, which designates him a fourth time, by the reception it has given him on his rapid march, and triumphal entry into the capital; of that nation by which he wishes to reign: What does Napoleon wish?

50. That which the French people wish: the independance of France, internal peace, amity with all nations, and the execution of the treaty of Paris, concluded on the 30th of May, 1814.

51. What remains, then, to be changed in the state of Europe, and in the hopes of that repose which was promised to it? What voice is raised to demand those succours, which, according to the Declaration, were not to be given without being demanded?

52. There is nothing changed. If the Allied Powers return, as it is hoped they will, to just

and moderate sentiments; if they recognize that the existence of France, in a respectable and independent state, as averse from conquering as from being conquered, of dominating as from being enslaved, is necessary to the balance of the great kingdoms as to the guarantee of the small states.

53. There is nothing changed. If, respecting the rights of a great nation, which wishes to respect the rights of all others; a people proud and generous, that have been lowered, but were never degraded; they suffer it to recall a monarch, and give themselves a constitution and laws which suit their manners and interests, habits and wants.

54. There is nothing changed. If the allies do not constrain France to return under the yoke of a dynasty which it can no longer wish for; the feudal chains which it has broken, to submit itself to the signorial or ecclesiastical protestations from which it has freed itself; if foreigners do not impose laws, or, meddling in its internal affairs, assign it a form of government, and give it masters, dictated by the will and interests, passions and prejudices, of its neighbours.

55. There is nothing changed. If, when France is occupied in preparing the new so-

cial pact, which shall guarantee the liberty of its citizens, the triumph of the generous ideas which dominate in Europe, and which can no longer be stifled there, it is not forced to withdraw itself, to fight for independence, from the pacific thoughts and means of internal prosperity, to which the people and their chief wish to consecrate themselves in a happy unison.

56. There is nothing changed: if, when the French nation demands no more than to remain in peace with all Europe, an unjust coalition does not force it to defend, as it did in 1792, its will, rights, and independance: finally, the sovereign of its own choice.

(Signed)

The Minister of State President of the Section of Finances,
Count DEFERMON.

The Minister of State President of the Section of the Interior,
Count REGNAUD DE ST. JEAN D'ANGELY.

The President of the Section of Legislation,
Count BOULAY.

The President of the Section of War,
Count ANDREOSSY.

Certified by the Minister Secretary of State,
The Duke of BASSANO.

No. VII.

Ordinance of the King, containing Measures of General Safety.

Louis, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, to all those to whom these presents shall come; greeting.

The twelfth article of the constitutional charter specially charges us to make the regulations and ordinances necessary for the safety of the state; it would be essentially compromised, if we did not take prompt measures to repress the enterprise which has just been formed on one of the points of our kingdom, and arrest the effect of the conspiracies, as well as crimes, tending to excite civil war, and to destroy the government.

For these reasons, and on the report which has been made to us by our trusty and well-beloved chevalier Chancellor of France, Le Sieur Dombray, commander of our orders, on the advice of our council, we have ordered, and we order, as follows:

Art. 1. Napoleon Bonaparte is declared a traitor and rebel, for having introduced him-

self, with arms in his hands, into the department of the Var. It is enjoined to all the governors, commanders of the armed force, national guards, civil authorities, and even to the private citizens, to fall upon him, arrest him, and bring him immediately before a council of war; which, after having ascertained his identity, will demand the application of the pains pronounced by the law.

2. The military men, and other public functionaries, of every rank, who may have followed the said Bonaparte in his invasion of the French territory, will be punished with te same pains, and considered as guilty of the same crimes, unless that, on a delay of eight days from the publication of this ordinance, they make their submission to our governors, commanders of military divisions, generals, or civil administrations.

3. All civil administrators, chiefs, and persons employed in the said administrations, paymasters and receivers of the public taxes, the private citizens even, who shall lend, directly or indirectly, assistance to Bonaparte, will be in like manner pursued and punished, as favourers and accomplices of rebellion and crime, tending to change the form of the government, and to provoke civil war.

4. Those who, by discourses held in public places or meetings, by bills posted up, or by printed writings, shall have taken a share, or engaged the citizens to take any part in the revolt, or abstain from repulsing it, will be punished with the same pains, conformably to the 102d Article of the Penal Code.

5. Our chancellor, ministers-secretaries of state, and our director-general of police, each in what concerns him, are charged with the execution of the present Ordinance, which will be inserted in the bulletin of laws, addressed to all the governors of military divisions, generals, commandants, prefects and sub-prefects, and mayors of our kingdom, with an order to cause it to be printed and posted up, as well at Paris as elsewhere, and wherever it may be judged necessary.

Given at the Castle of the Thuilleries, the 6th of March, 1815, and of our reign the twentieth.

(Signed) LOUIS.

By the King,

The Chancellor of France, (Signed) D'AMBRAY.

No. VIII.

MONS. LE COMTE GROUCHY,

The Ordinance of the King, dated the 6th of March, and the declaration signed at Vienna on the 13th, might authorise me to treat the Duke d'Angoulème, as that Ordinance and declaration ordered that I and my family should be treated. But, constant in the determination which led me to direct that the members of the Bourbon family might quit France freely, my intention is, that you shall give orders that the Duke d'Angoulème be conducted to Cette, where he will be embarked; and that you shall have an attentive eye to his safety, preserving him from receiving any ill-treatment. You will only take care to withdraw from him the funds which have been carried off from the public chests, and to demand that he shall pledge himself for the restoration of the diamonds of the crown, which are the property of the nation. You will make known to him, at the same time, the dispositions of the laws of the national assemblies, which have been renewed, and which apply to the members of his family who may

enter the French territory. You will thank, in my name, the National Guards for the patriotism and zeal which they have displayed, and for the attachment they have shown to me in these important circumstances.

At the Palace of the Thuilleries, April 15th, 1815.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

No. IX.

Address of the Field of May.

SIRE,

The French people had decreed you the crown; you had deposed it without their consent; their suffrages now impose on you the duty of resuming it. A new compact is formed between the nation and your Majesty. Assembled from all points of the empire around the tables of the law, on which we have just inscribed the wish of the people, that wish the sole legitimate source of power, it is impossible for us not to make the voice of France re-echo, that of which we are the immediate organs; not to say, in the presence of Europe, to the

august chief of the nation, what it expects from him, what he should expect from it. Our words will be as solemn as the circumstances which inspire them.

What does the league of allied kings mean by that display of war, with which it affrights Europe, and afflicts humanity?

By what act or violation have we provoked their vengeance, or given a motive for their aggression?

Have we, since the peace, endeavoured to give them laws? Our only wish is, to make those be followed which are adapted to our manners.

We do not wish for the chief whom our enemies would impose on us; and we want him whom they reject.

They dare to proscribe you personally; you, sire, who, so many times master of their capitals, have generously confirmed them on their shattered thrones! This hate of our enemies adds to our love for you. Were the least known of our citizens proscribed, we should defend him with the same energy: he would be, like you, under the ægis of the law and the power of France, defended from the attacks of foreigners.

They menace us with an invasion! And, in

the meantime, confined us within frontiers which Nature has not imposed; which a long time since, and even before your reign, victory and peace had extended: we have not passed that narrow circuit, through respect for the treaties which you have not signed, and which you have offered to respect.

Do they not fear to recall to us other times, and a state of things lately so different, one which might again be re-produced? Do they only demand guarantees? They are to be found in all our institutions, in the will of the French people, henceforth united to your wishes.

It would not be for the first time that we had conquered all Europe, armed against us.

Those sacred, imprescriptible rights, which the smallest population has never claimed in vain at the tribunal of justice and of history, it is to the French nation that men dare to dispute them in the nineteenth century, and in the face of the civilised world!

Because France wishes to be France, must it be degraded; or, at least, rent, dismembered! Do they reserve for us the lot of Poland?

Vainly do they wish to conceal fatal designs, in the single view of separating you from us, to give us masters with whom we have no longer anything in common, whom

we understand not, and who can no longer understand us; who do not seem to belong to the age, nor to the nation, which has not received them for a moment into its bosom, but to see its most generous citizens proscribed and degraded by them!

Their presence has destroyed all the illusions which were still attached to their name. They could no longer believe in our oaths, we could no longer believe in their promises. The tithes, feudal privileges, all that is odious to us, was too evidently the end and substance of their thoughts, when one of them, to console the impatience of the moment, assured his confidential friends, that he answered to them for the future.

What each of us had regarded, during twenty-five years, as a title of glory, as services worthy of recompense, has been with them a title of proscription, a seal of reprobation.

Thousands of functionaries, magistrates, who had for five-and-twenty years followed the same maxims, and amongst whom we have just chosen our representatives; five hundred thousand warriors, our force and our glory; six millions of proprietors, invested by the Revolution; a still greater number of enlightened citizens, who make a profession of these

ments, which have become political dogmas for us. All these worthy Frenchmen were not the Frenchmen of the Bourbons; they wished to reign for a handful of privileged persons, punished or pardoned during the last twenty years.

Opinion, that sacred property of man, they pursued, persecuted, even to the very sanctuary of literature and of the arts.

Sire: a throne founded by foreign arms, and environed by incurable errors, has given way in an instant before you; because you brought back from retirement, which is fertile in great thoughts to great men only, all the traces of our glory, and all the hopes of our prosperity.

How much has not your triumphal march from Cannes to Paris opened the eyes of all men? In the history of all populations, and of all ages, is there a scene more national, more heroic, more capable of inspiring respect? This triumph, which has cost no blood, is it not sufficient to undeceive our enemies? . . . Do they wish for others more bloody? Well, sire, expect from us all that a hero, the founder of our institutions, has a right to expect from a faithful, energetic, generous nation, unshakeable in its principles, invariable in the

object of its efforts,—external independence and internal liberty.

The three branches of the legislature are about to act; one only sentiment will animate them. Confiding in the promises of your Majesty, we give up to you, to our representatives, and to the Chamber of Peers, the care of revising, consolidating, of perfecting in concert, without precipitation or concussion, with maturity and wisdom, our constitutional system, and the institutions by which it should be guaranteed.

If we are, in the meantime, forced to combat, let a single cry resound in every heart: "Let us march to the enemy, which wishes to treat us as the meanest of nations! Let us throng round the throne, on which is seated the father, the chief of the people and of the army."

Sire: nothing is impossible, nothing will be spared to secure honour and independence,—properties more dear than life. Everything will be attempted, everything will be executed, to repel an ignominious yoke; we declare it to the nations: May their chiefs hear us! If they accept your offers of peace, the French people will await, from your strong, liberal, and paternal administration, motives to

console them for the sacrifices which peace has cost them. But, if they leave us only the choice between war and shame, the whole nation rises for war; it is ready to disengage you from the offers, too moderate, perhaps, which you have made, to spare Europe a new convulsion. Every Frenchman is a soldier: victory will follow your arms, and our enemies, who calculated on our divisions, will very soon regret that they have provoked us.

No. X.

Discourse pronounced by his Majesty at the Champs de Mai.

GENTLEMEN, Electors of the Colleges of Departments and of Districts;

GENTLEMEN, Deputies of the Army and Navy, at the Champs de Mai:

Emperor, consul, soldier, I hold every thing from the people. In prosperity, in adversity, in the field of battle, at the council, on the throne, in exile, France has been the sole and constant object of my thoughts and of my actions.

Like the Athenian king, I sacrificed myself for my people, in the hope of seeing the promise given to preserve to France its natural extent, its honours, and its rights realized.

Indignation at seeing these sacred rights, acquired by twenty years of victories, disowned and lost for ever; the cry of French honour branded: the wishes of the nation, have brought me back on that throne which is dear to me, because it is the palladium of the independence, honour, and of the rights, of the people.

Frenchmen! in crossing, amidst the public gladness, the different provinces of the empire, to reach my capital, I had a right to reckon on a long peace: Nations are bound by the treaties made by their governments, whatever they may be.

My mind therefore directed itself entirely towards the means of founding our liberty by a constitution conformable to the will and to the interest of the people: I convoked the Field of May.

I soon ascertained that the princes who have disowned all principles, trifled with the opinion, and trampled on the dearest interests, of so many nations, wished to make war against

us. They meditate an increase of the kingdom of the Low Countries, by giving it all our strong places of the north for a frontier; and, to conciliate the differences which still divide them, in partitioning Loraine and Alsace between each other.

It has been necessary to prepare for war. However, before personally running the hazards of combats, my first solicitude was to constitute, without delay the nation. The people has accepted the Act which I have presented to them.

Frenchmen! when we shall have repulsed these aggressions, and when Europe shall be convinced of what is due to the rights and to the independence of twenty-eight millions of men, a solemn law, made in the forms ordained by the Constitutional Act, will assemble the different clauses and component parts, at present dispersed, of our institutions.

Frenchmen! you are about to return to your departments. Tell the citizens that the circumstances are grand! that, with union, energy, and perseverance, we shall issue victorious out of this struggle of a great people against its oppressors; that the generations to come will severely scrutinize our conduct; that a nation has lost every thing when it has

lost independence. Tell them, that the foreign kings, whom I have elevated to the throne, or who owe the preservation of their crowns to me; who, in the time of my prosperity, courted my alliance and the protection of the French people, now direct all their blows against my person. If I did not see that it is the country which they aim at, I would place that existence at their mercy against which they exhibit such rancour. But tell to the citizens also, that, whilst the French shall preserve for me the sentiments of love, of which they now give me so many proofs, this rage of our enemies will be powerless.

Frenchmen! my will is that of the people; my rights are also their rights! My honour, my glory, my happiness, cannot be any other than the honour, the glory, and the happiness, of France!

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No. XL

Discourse pronounced by his Majesty at the Imperial Session of the 8th June.

GENTLEMEN of the House of Peers;

And GENTLEMEN of the House of Representatives;

It is now three months since circumstances, and the confidence of the people, have invested me with an unlimited power. To-day is accomplished the most pressing desire of my heart; I come to commence the constitutional monarchy.

Men are powerless with regard to futurity; institutions alone fix the destinies of nations. Monarchy is necessary in France, to guarantee the liberty, the independence, and the rights, of the people.

Our constitutions are scattered: one of our most important occupations will be to unite them in a single frame, and to co-ordinate them in a single thought. This work will recommend the actual epoch to future generations.

I am ambitious of seeing France enjoy all

the liberty possible: I say possible, because anarchy always brings a nation back to an absolute government.

A formidable coalition of kings aims at our independence; its armies are arriving on our frontiers.

The frigate *Melpomene* has been attacked and taken, in the Mediterranean, after a severe contest against an English ship of the line. Blood has been shed during peace.

Our enemies calculate on our intestine divisions. They excite and foment civil war. Assemblages have taken place; communications are held with Ghent, as in 1792 with Coblentz. Legislative measures are indispensable. It is to your patriotism, to your clearness of mind, and to your attachment to my person, that I confide without reserve.

The liberty of the press is inherent in the actual constitution; nothing can be changed, without altering our political system: but repressive laws are necessary; above all, in the present state of the nation. I recommend this important object to your meditations.

My ministers will successively make known to you the state of affairs.

The finances would be in a satisfactory state, had it not been for the increase of ex-

penses which the existing circumstances have required.

However, we might face every thing, if the receipts comprehended in the budget were all capable of being realized within the year; and it is on the means of obtaining this result, that my minister of finances will fix your attention.

It is possible that the first duty of the prince may call me very soon to head the children of the country. The army and I will do our duty.

Peers and Representatives! it is for you to give the nation the example of confidence, energy, and patriotism; and, like the senate of the great people of antiquity, be decided to die rather than survive the dishonour and the degradation of France. The sacred cause of the country will triumph!

No. XII.

Address of the Chamber of Peers, on the 11th June; and his Majesty's Answer.

SIRE,

Your eagerness to submit to the constitutional forms, and the absolute power which the circumstances, and the confidence of the people, had imposed on you; the new guarantees given to the rights of the nation, the devotedness which conducts you into the middle of the dangers which the army is about to brave; penetrate all hearts with a profound recognition of your paternal solicitude.

The peers of France come to offer to your Majesty the homage of that sentiment.

You have manifested, sire, principles which are those of the nation: they should be ours. Yes, all power comes from the people, and is instituted for the people: the constitutional monarchy is necessary to the French people, as the guarantee of its liberty and its independence.

Sire: whilst you are on the frontier, at the head of the children of the country, the House

of Peers will concur with zeal in all the legislative measures which the circumstances may require, to force the foreigner to recognize the national independence, and to make the principles consecrated by the will of the people triumph in the interior.

The interest of France is inseparable from yours: if fortune should deceive your efforts, reverses, sire, shall not enfeeble our perseverance; they would rather tend to redouble our attachment to you.

If the successes answer to the justice of our cause, and to the hopes which we are accustomed to conceive from your genius and from the bravery of our armies, France wishes no other fruit from them than peace. Our institutions guarantee to Europe, that the French government can never be drawn away by the seductions of victory.

His Majesty's Answer.

Mr. PRESIDENT and GENTLEMEN, Deputies of the House of Peers;

The struggle in which we are engaged, is serious. The sweeping away of the rights of posterity, is not the danger which menaces us now. It is under the Caudine forks that foreigners wish to make us pass.

The justice of our cause, the public spirit of the nation, and the courage of the army, are powerful motives to hope for success; but, if we should sustain reverses, it is then, above all, that I would love to see displayed all the energy of this great people; it is then that I would find, in the Chamber of Peers, proofs of attachment to the country and to myself.

It is in difficult times that great nations, like great men, unfold all the energy of their character, and become an object of admiration to posterity.

Mr. President and Gentlemen, Deputies of the Chamber of Peers, I thank you for the sentiments which you express to me, in the name of the Chamber.

No. XIII.

Address of the Representatives, and Answer of his Majesty.

SIRE,

The Chamber of Representatives has received with profound emotion, the words emanating from the throne, in the solemn session,

in which your Majesty, deposing the extraordinary powers you exercised, has proclaimed the commencement of the constitutional monarchy.

The principal basis of that monarchy, protectress of liberty, equality, and of the happiness of the people, have been recognized by your Majesty, who voluntarily meeting all the scruples as well as all the wishes of your subjects, have declared that the care of collecting our scattered constitutions, and of combining their arrangements, was one of the most important occupations reserved for the Legislature.

Faithful to its mission, the Chambers of Representatives will fulfil the task which has devolved on it, in this noble employment. It demands that, to satisfy the public will, as well as the wish of your Majesty, the national deliberation shall rectify, as soon as possible, what the urgency of our situation may have produced defective, or left imperfect, in the general spirit of our constitutions.

But, at the same time, sire, the Chamber of Representatives will not show itself less eager to proclaim its sentiments and its principles on the terrible struggle which threatens to cover Europe with blood.

After a train of disastrous events, the claims of invaded France were not for a moment listened to on the formation of a constitution, except to see itself almost immediately subjected to a royal charter, emanating from absolute power; to an ordinance of reformation, always revocable by its nature, and which, from not having the expressed assent of the people, could never be considered as obligatory on the nation. Resuming to-day the exercise of all its rights, rallying round the hero whom its confidence invests anew with the government of the state, France is astonished and afflicted to see sovereigns in arms interfering with an internal change which is the result of the national will, and which does not attack either the relations existing with other governments, or militate against their security.

France cannot admit any of the distinctions, by the aid of which the coalesced Powers seek to veil their aggression. To attack the monarch of its choice, is to attack the independence of the nation. It is armed throughout to defend that independence, and to repel, without exception, every family and prince whom foreigners shall dare to impose on it.

No ambitious project enters into the minds

of the French people; even the will of the prince, if victorious, would be unable to draw the nation out of the limits of its own defence; but it is ready to make every sacrifice for the guarantee of its territory and the maintenance of its liberty, honour, and dignity.

Why is it not permitted, sire, still to hope that this display of war, formed perhaps by the irritations of pride, and by illusions which every succeeding day ought to dispel, will give way before the want of a peace so necessary for all Europe, and which would restore a companion to your Majesty, to the French people an heir for the throne! But blood has already flowed; and the signal for the contest, prepared against the independence and the liberty of France, has been given in the name of a people, which carries the enthusiasm of independence and liberty to the highest degree!

In the number of communications which we expect from your Majesty, the Chambers will no doubt find proofs of the efforts you have made to maintain the peace of the world. If all these efforts should be ineffectual, let the misfortunes of the war fall on those who had provoked them.

The Chamber of Representatives only wait

for the documents which you have named, to concur with all its means in the measures which the successful termination of a war so legitimate will require. In order to express its wishes, the Chamber is anxious to know the wants and resources of the state; and whilst your Majesty, opposing to the most unjust aggression the valour of the national armies and the force of your genius, will seek nothing in victory but a means of obtaining a durable peace, the Chamber of Representatives will believe itself to be marching towards the same end, by labouring without remission at the improvement of that compact, the perfecting of which will cement still more closely the union of the people and the throne, and, by the amelioration of our laws, strengthen, in the eyes of Europe, the guarantee of our engagements.

His Majesty replied as follows:

Mr. PRESIDENT,

AND GENTLEMEN DEPUTIES OF THE CHAMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES;

I again find with satisfaction my own sentiments in those which you express to me. In these momentous circumstances, my mind is absorbed by the approaching war, to the suc-

cess of which are attached the independence and the honour of France. I will set out to-night, and proceed to join my armies: the movements of the different corps of our enemies render my presence indispensable. It will afford me great pleasure to see that a commission of each Chamber is occupied on our laws during my absence.

The constitution is our rallying point: it should be our polar star in these stormy times. Every public discussion tending directly or indirectly to diminish the confidence which should be placed in its arrangements, would be a misfortune for the state; we should then find ourselves in the midst of rocks, without compass or pilot. The crisis in which we are engaged is perilous. Let us not imitate the example of the Lower Empire, which, pressed on every side by the Barbarians, rendered itself the scoff of posterity, by entering into abstract discussions, while the battering-ram was raised against the gates of the city.

Independent of the legislative measures which the circumstances of the interior require, you will perhaps judge it useful to occupy yourselves with the organic laws destined to give effect to the constitution.

These may without any inconvenience be the object of your public labours.

Mr. President, and Gentlemen Deputies of the Chamber of Representatives: The sentiments expressed in your address, sufficiently demonstrate, to me the attachment of the Chamber to my person, and the patriotism with which it is animated. In all the concerns of the state, my conduct will be upright and firm. Assist me to save the country. First Representative of the people, I have contracted the obligation, which I now renew, to employ, in more tranquil times, all the prerogatives of the crown, and the little experience which I have acquired, to second your efforts to ameliorate our institutions.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE THIRD CHAPTER.

No. I.

Exposition of the Events which took place in the South of France, from the 24th March 1815, to the 17th April of the same year.

Orders had been given, in all the departments of the South, for the formation of the National Guards and corps of volunteers: many persons employed by the government used their influence to prevent or retard the formation of these different corps.

The persons of every class and age who were employed in public situations, could not be deprived of their functions immediately; it became necessary to be satisfied with the goodwill of those whom, when employed for the service of the King, no circumstances could affect. All of these assured Monseigneur the Duke d'Angoulême of their entire devotedness to his person.

Lieut.-Generals Ambert at Montpellier, Daricaud at Perpignan, Rey in the Upper

Loire, Saint Paul in the Lozère, Cassagne in the Upper Garonne, General Lafitte in the Ardéche, Aymard at Montpellier, Gardanne in the Var, were those who most frequently renewed their protestations. The Lieutenant-generals Ambert and Cassagne had been more particularly honoured with the favours of H. R. Highness.

The Sieur Desorches, prefect of the Drôme, obeyed the orders of Bonaparte, informed the Duke d'Angolème of every thing, and certified that he preserved his place for no other purpose than to be enabled the better to serve the King.

The Colonel-General's regiment of infantry was the only one which could be depended on. It received an order to march to Nismes. the 14th regiment of mounted chasseurs, of which some hopes were entertained, went there also.

The points of assembly for the National Guards were fixed at Sisteron, Saint-esprit, and Clermont.

The King had named the Duke d'Angoulème Lieut.-General of the Kingdom in the South: the Duke de Bourbon was named Governor of the provinces of the West. H. R. Highness was not informed of this until the 24th.

The Lyonnais and Dauphiny had put up the tri-coloured cockade; all communication with the north was interrupted.

A provisional government was established at Toulouse.

Lieut.-General Ernouf was named commandant of the first corps of the army of the South. H. R. Highness was to command the second, in person, and Lieut.-General Count Compans was to set out to take the command in chief of the 3d corps at Clermont.

The first corps was to leave Sisteron, to march on Gap and Grenoble; the 2d to march from Saint-esprit, on Montelimart and Valence; both were to pass the Drôme, and move rapidly on Lyons.

Lieut.-General Count Compans was to maintain Auvergne, to facilitate the movement on Lyons, and preserve the communication with the Duke de Bourbon.

The intermediate corps, under the order of Lieut.-General Rey, composed of National Guards of the Ardèche and Upper Loire, was to march on the right of the Rhône, between the second and the third corps.

The Generals Loverdo and Gardanne were under the orders of Lieut.-General Ernouf.

Lieut.-Generals Merle and Monnet formed part of the 2d corps: Lieut.-General Solignac and Brigadier-general Dariul were to act under the orders of Lieut.-General Compans.

Madame was at Bourdeaux.

The Marshal Prince d'Essling made sure of the eighth military division.

Ammunition of every species was to be furnished to the right corps by Toulon and Marseilles, and to the centre and the 3d corps by Montpellier: magazines of reserve were established at Saint Fleur and Saint-esprit.

The Generals commanding the military divisions, and those commanding the departments, were charged with the prompt formation and dispatching of the National Guards to reinforce the army.

On the 24th, the Duke d'Angoulême received the news of the occupation of Paris by Bonaparte: his Highness made it known himself to General Compans, who swore fidelity, except in the event of the Duke's embarkation: the Duke d'Angoulême heard no more of General Compans.

The corps of the army commanded by Lieut.-General Ernouf was composed of the 58th and 83d of the line, of the National Guards of Marseilles, amounting to three thousand men, and of six pieces of cannon.

The second corps was composed of the National Guards of the department of the Gard, Herault, and Vaucluse, amounting to two thousand men of the 10th of the line, nine hundred strong, of the 1st or royal foreign regiment, consisting of 350 men, of 70 mounted National Guards, of the 14th mounted chasseurs, consisting of 300 men, with 12 guns, of which two were served by National Guards.

The 10th of the line, the 14th chasseurs, and the staff, could not arrive at Saint-esprit until the 31st. His Royal Highness went there on the 28th.

Orders were dispatched to Lieut.-general Ernouf to move forward.

General Chabert, with three or four hundred men, was the only force that could oppose his march.

On the 29th, the advanced-guard of the second corps, commanded by the Viscount d'Escars, occupied Montelimert. The corps commanded by Lieut.-general Monnier posted itself at Douzère.

On the 30th, General Debelle arrived from Valence, and attacked the advanced-guard of the second corps. It was repulsed; but, of fifty men of the 14th, who were on the advanced-guard, forty-nine went over to the enemy, with their officers.

It became necessary to leave the 14th chasseurs behind.

On the 31st, it was communicated that the Generals Rey in the Upper Loire, Saint Paul in the Lozère, and Lafitte in the Ardèche, after having disbanded the National Guards of these departments, had hoisted the tri-coloured cockade. The first had also dismissed the battalions of National Guards which marched on Clermont.

It became indispensable to secure Saint-esprit. A battalion of the royal foreign regiment, two battalions of the Guard, and six guns, were given to Lieut.-general Merle; and endeavours were made to prepare the citadel, in case of a sudden attack.

It was essential to cause the right bank of the Rhône to be observed. Colonel Magnier, with one of the battalions left at the disposal of Lieut.-general Merle, was charged to follow the march of the corps commanded by his Royal Highness on the left of the river.

On the 1st April, the head-quarters of his Royal Highness and all the disposable troops were removed to Montelimert.

News was received that, in consequence of the orders which had been given, Lieutenant-general Ernouf was at Gap; and that Gene-

dix Gardanne and Loverdo, commanding his advanced-guard, had taken possession of the important defiles of Traver-de-Corps and La Mure.

On the 2d, the corps commanded by his Royal Highness marched on Valence.

A battalion, under the orders of Colonel d'Hautpoul, secured the right, by marching on Crest.

The enemy was attacked in front at Horiol, and turned by the heights between that village and the road of Crest.

Being pursued, the enemy retired beyond the Drôme; and, occupying the bridge, he took a position on the heights which border the right bank of that small river.

Here another action took place; but, whilst a battalion of the National Guards crossed the Drôme by fording below the bridge, a company of voltigeurs of the 10th and some National Guards, supported by two companies of grenadiers, precipitated themselves on the bridge, which they carried, as well as a gun destined to defend it.

The village and the height of Lucron did not hold out long. A second gun was taken by twenty-five chasseurs of the 14th, who served as an escort to his Royal Highness. Colonel Noel, commanding the enemy's corps, the

commandant Chataigner, almost all the officers, and three hundred men, were made prisoners. The remainder of the enemy's corps dispersed.

Bonaparte's journalists have said that the company of voltigeurs of the 10th precipitated themselves on the bridge, crying "Live the Emperor!" that the passage having been thus opened to them, they took possession of the bridge without striking a blow. It was quite the reverse: the troops posted on the right of the Drôme cried *Vive le Roi!* the voltigeurs, having advanced, were surrounded; when every effort was made to make them cry *Vive l'Empereur!* They attacked them; and many were wounded. Two companies of grenadiers, destined for their support, rescued them. All the prisoners cried "Live the King."

The forces of the enemy were, during the action, from twelve to fifteen hundred men; the position which he occupied was as difficult to attack as it was easy to defend.

At Crest, the commandant d'Hautpoul had in like manner met the enemy. The bridge was abandoned in the night.

The corps commanded by his Royal High-

ness halted at the village of La Paillasse, a league from Valence.

On the 3d, his Royal Highness entered Valence: the bridge De Romans, and all the left of the Isère, were occupied, in spite of the efforts of the troops which were there.

The 14th regiment of chasseurs was ordered to rejoin the army.

On the 4th, Colonel Magnier occupied Saint-Péray, on the right of the Rhône.

News was received that General Gardanne, who commanded the advanced-guard of the first corps, had gone over to the enemy, with the 58th of the line, which was under his orders; that, in consequence, General Loverdo fell back on General Ernouf, who returned to Sisteron.

All offensive movement now became impossible. It would have been difficult to maintain a position at Valence, if it had been known that General Ernouf, sure of the 83d and his National Guards, had resumed the offensive.

On the 5th, news was received that Lieut.-general Ambert had caused the government of Bonaparte to be recognized at Montpellier and in all his division. It was in vain that

Lieut.-general Briche and the Brigadier-general Pelissier wished to oppose it at Nismes: overpowered by the troops, they were arrested.

General Grouchy had quitted Lyons with 2,500 men, troops of the line, and advanced by forced marches on Valence: other troops came to sustain him.

General Ernouf could not pass Grenoble; and the nature of the country did not permit of opening a direct communication with him.

On the 26th, in the morning, a letter from General Merle made known to his Royal Highness that troops of the enemy came from Montpellier to take possession of Saint-esprit, which General Merle was not prepared to defend.

A vigorous demonstration was made in vain by the enemy to pass the Isère.

Means of corruption, long prepared, were employed at Valence to seduce and alarm the royal troops: there were also many desertions there.

The retreat was ordered on the 7th. His Royal Highness transferred his head-quarters to Montelimert. Colonel Magnier, who was on the right, acted in consequence.

On the same day, the colonel of the 14th

chasseurs reported that he was no longer capable of managing his regiment; and it became necessary to send it back to Livron.

On the 8th, in the morning, the colonel of the 10th of the line declared that the major part of his soldiers were unwilling to fight. All the officers were at a loss how to act: they obtained a promise that his Royal Highness should be escorted by them to Marseilles. Some soldiers, however, swore they would not serve Bonaparte.

The artillery refused in like manner to serve the King.

The royal foreign regiment, and seven or eight hundred National Guards, were all that remained to his Royal Highness; when he learned that Toulon and Avignon had hoisted the standard of revolt.

It was also known that the Duke de Bourbon had quitted France, and that Madame had embarked at Pouillac.

Lieut.-general Merle had abandoned Saint-esprit.

The regiment of Berry, light infantry, had moved on the route from Avignon to Saint-esprit, to oppose the passage of his Royal Highness.

The royal foreign regiment was also

weakened: however, the corps moved on towards Pallud.

Lieut.-general d'Aultanne, chief of the staff, set out for Saint-esprit, with full powers to treat for the safe passage of his Royal Highness to Marseilles.

He agreed with Colonel Saint-Laurens, that his Royal Highness, escorted by the 10th regiment of the line, should repair to Marseilles, in order to embark there. Lieut.-general d'Aultanne was detained as a hostage.

An hour later, a letter from General Gilly made known to his Royal Highness that the first convention would not be observed. The brigadier and second in command of the general staff, was sent to conclude a second. The movement on Pallud was countermanded.

It was besides agreed between General Gilly and the Baron de Damas, that no troops except the escorts should be found on the passage of his Royal Highness.

In consequence of the above-mentioned convention, a courier was sent to General Grouchy to suspend his march. Orders were dispatched, to stop the effusion of blood wherever any corps still held out for the king.

On the 9th, the National Guards were dis-

missed. The artillery joined the corps of Lieut.-general Gilly at Saint-esprit: the 10th regiment of the line, and the royal foreign regiment, remained alone to guard his Royal Highness.

The Duke d'Angoulème, after having fulfilled all the conditions agreed upon, entered his carriage on the 9th, at nine o'clock about night, to repair to Cette.

His Royal Highness was astonished to find, notwithstanding the convention made between Lieut.-general Gilly and the Baron de Damas, posts on the route between Pallud and Saint-esprit.

Arrived at Saint-esprit, General Grouchy gave the Baron de Damas the following note, not signed:

"The Duke d'Angoulème having capitulated with General Gilly, and the general-in-chief, who has this moment arrived at the bridge of Saint-esprit, not having participated in the capitulation, is forced, by his instructions, not to approve of it until after he shall have taken his Majesty's orders on the subject. Until that shall be done, his Royal Highness is requested either to remain at the bridge Saint-esprit, or to proceed by short stages to Cette."

In consequence of this intimation, his Royal Highness was conducted to the house destined for him. A strong guard was placed there; and it was only by giving his parole of honour not to absent himself, that his Royal Highness obtained permission that there should not be placed any officers of gendarmerie in his chamber.

On the 11th, it was communicated that Colonel Magnier either had not received, or conformed to, the convention: the Baron de Damas immediately sent an order to maintain the parole given.

On the 16th, at night, Lieut.-general Corbineau, aide-de-camp of Bonaparte, sent for the Baron de Damas.

General Corbineau said, that he had an order to send away his Royal Highness, on condition that he would engage to procure the restitution of the crown jewels.

His Royal Highness not being able to engage for the restitution of these objects, the above-mentioned articles were added.

In consequence of these articles, it was concluded, that his Royal Highness should quit Saint-esprit on the 15th.

A few faithful individuals had proposed to the Duke d'Angoulême to gain the mountains,

and endeavour to get into Piedmont; but, in that case, his Royal Highness would either have set out alone, or been only accompanied by the few persons on whom he could depend. In the first case, Monseigneur the Duke d'Angoulême would have abandoned to the mercy of the enemy, without convention or security of any kind, the troops which had combatted under his orders: in the second, nothing could insure a march of eighty-four leagues through a difficult country, of which almost all the principal points were occupied by the enemy.

Certified as true by the Lieutenant-general second in command of the Staff,

(Signed) The BARON DE DAMAS.

No. II.

Account of the Events at Bourdeaux, towards the end of March 1815.

I have not now to describe brilliant festivals or days of happiness. In the midst of those transports of joy which Madame excited at Bourdeaux,—in the midst of the feasts which succeeded each other at the approach

of the 12th of March, that anniversary so dear and so glorious to the Bordelais,—a cry of alarm was heard, and gaiety disappeared. But the boundless devotedness, the zeal without parallel, of these very Bordelais, as soon as this new cry of alarm was heard, are the subjecs which I like to dwell upon Bourdeaux will always be Bourdeaux!—Such was their watch-word at the aspect of new danger; and they have been faithful to it. Animated by a double ardour, by the presence of Madame, all wished to enrol themselves for the defence of the country. Each offers his fortune, children, blood, and life. It is to Madame they come with transport, to renéw the oath of dying for the King. Even the troops of the line (they were not then led astray) take the oath of fidelity anew, and seem to partake the spirit which animates the people of Bourdeaux for the royal cause. In the meantime, the storm increased rapidly in the north, and extended with an incredible swiftness. We at length learned that the tricoloured flag was displayed at Angoulème, and that General Clausel prepared to come and take possession of Bourdeaux. This alarming news, far from abating the courage of the Bordelais, increased it still more. They are ready for

every thing, and fear nothing: the presence of Madame electrifies all hearts! Under her eyes, they brave all dangers: they are sure of being victorious, if her Royal Highness remains in the town: she is supplicated not to abandon it. They need her presence: it is required by all. She appeared that very day, as usual, towards two o'clock, in an open carriage; and her countenance, calm and firm, inspired the most confident security. They pressed in throngs on her passage, as they were accustomed to do every day at the same hour, when she left her palace, to drive out in the environs of Bourdeaux. The workmen and shopkeepers quitted their business, as if it had been the first time they had seen her. With equal precipitation did they hasten to see her again on that day, blessing her more frequently, and forming a thousand wishes for her happiness. In all the villages which she passed through, the same earnestness was manifested: troops of young girls went to offer her bouquets; and, on her return from the promenade, she found, as usual, the way strown with flowers. The more the perils augmented, the more they redoubled their attachment for her!

Feelingly alive to so many testimonies of

love, Madame had determined not to quit Bourdeaux, and to leave nothing untried to preserve that faithful town to the King as long as possible. The utmost zeal and activity was employed to organize different corps of troops, chosen amidst the flower of the National Guard; they were equipped in haste; and, on the news that Gen. Clausel advanced, one of these corps was immediately dispatched to defend the passage of the Dordogne, at St. André de Cubzac. A contest took place; and I shall never forget the cry of joy that extended itself to the palace, in repeating these words, "They fight at length!" Our little troop had the advantage; and Gen. Clausel had some of his men killed by our artillery. Night suspended the combat, which was to commence again at the dawn of day; but an incident, unhappily too much to be feared, supervened, and was the principal cause of our losing Bourdeaux.

The garrison of Blaye, a fortress so important for the defence of that city, had just revolted; the tri-coloured standard was hoisted there, and the troops of the line went out of the fort to join Gen. Clausel, which gave him forces very superior to those that could be opposed to him: so that he no longer found any obstacle on his route, and on Saturday the 1st

of April, he appeared with his troops on the right bank of the Garonne, opposite Bourdeaux. Having posted himself at the Bastide, there was nothing but the river between him and the town. It was thence that he proposed a capitulation. As, according to him, Madame was the sole cause of hostile measures, he promised that, if the city would submit promptly, the inhabitants would not be disturbed; nor should any one have to fear for his security. All would be perfectly tranquil: the head of Mons. Linch was alone excepted from these pacific conditions. A general cry of indignation resounded through the town; and, with an unanimous voice, was heard repeated, "To arms! to arms! Let us all fight to save Bourdeaux." The tumult augmented every instant. Madame did all she could to sustain so courageous a disposition.

But, to assure the success of the enterprise against Gen. Clausel, the concurrence of the troops of the line in garrison in that town was necessary: the National Guard alone was insufficient. In spite of the oath of fidelity which these troops had renewed, as I have already said; in spite of a grand and magnificent repast, at which these regiments and the National Guard had a few days before frater-

nised, glass in hand, by drinking the King's health together;—there no longer existed the same spirit: they were totally changed. Perfidious agents of Bonaparte had excited them to revolt; and, according to the report of the general officers, the sedition was at its height in the barracks. The military authorities held a most alarming language on the disposition of the troops, even with respect to Madame! Chiefs of battalions declared that the conversations were become so threatening, that they could no longer answer for the safety of her Royal Highness. They added, that it was to be feared that even her life would be in imminent danger, if she did not speedily quit Bourdeaux. A very different opinion was entertained among the chiefs of the faithful Guard; they were so persuaded that nothing could resist the sight of Madame: they did not doubt that, if she only showed herself to the troops of the line, she would bring them back under the colours of the King; and that, rallying their force to that of the National Guard, Bourdeaux might be saved from the shameful submission, of which they could not think without shuddering:—so much did they hold in horror the idea of seeing the tri-coloured flag hoisted in their city.

In this diversity of sentiments, Madame did not hesitate a moment to adopt a decisive resolution. "I shall visit the barracks, (said she,) and judge by myself of the disposition of the troops." She entered an open carriage at two o'clock: a numerous escort of general officers accompanied her on horseback. I assure you, that this warlike march had in it something very striking. They arrived at the barrack of Saint-Raphael. A profound silence reigned on the entrance of Madame. She descended from the carriage, and, passing twice through the ranks, with that dignity which you know her to possess, she afterwards placed herself in the centre, announcing her intention to speak to the officers; and, in a very elevated tone, addressed to them these words:

"Gentlemen: You are not ignorant of the events which are in progress. A stranger comes to take possession of the throne of your legitimate king. Bourdeaux is menaced by a handful of rebels: the National Guard is determined to defend the town. This is the moment to show that you are faithful to your oaths. I come here to recal them to you, and to judge by myself of the sentiments you entertain for our legitimate sovereign. I desire that you will speak with frankness: I require it. Are you

disposed to second the National Guard in the efforts which it wishes to make to defend Bourdeaux against those who come to attack it? Answer frankly.——What! absolute silence! Then you no longer recollect the oaths which you renewed, in my hands, so short a time since. If there still exists amongst you any who remember them, and who remain faithful to the cause of the King, let them advance out of the ranks, and express it openly." Some swords were then drawn, and brandished in the air.—"You are a very small number, (replied Madame,) but no matter; we know, at least, those on whom we can depend." Protestations of attachment to her person were addressed to her by some soldiers.—'We will not suffer any injury to be done to you; we will defend you:' cried many voices.—"It is not I who am in question, but the King's service, (replied Madame with vehemence:) Will you serve him?"—'In all that our chiefs shall command us, for the service of the country, we will obey: but we do not wish a civil war, and we will never fight against our brothers.'—It was in vain that Madame recalled to their recollection what duty and honour required of them: they were deaf to her voice. Before her departure, she made them promise that

they would at least contribute to maintain order in the town, if it was entered, and that they would also take care that no injury should be done to the National Guard, if evil intentions were entertained against it. This was promised. When Madame went away, she felt deeply affected with what she had just witnessed.

But even this was nothing. The visit which she paid to the second barrack, was much more painful. The spirit of revolt showed itself there a thousand times more ; and it was with still less effect that Madame endeavoured to bring the troops there, back to the path of honour. Notwithstanding the little success which her Royal Highness could hope for from a third attempt with such troops, she wished to neglect nothing, and it was at the Château Trompette that the last efforts of her heroic courage were carried to the highest point. What a reception they prepared for the august daughter of so many kings ! I shall never forget it, I have suffered so much from the event. After having passed the gloomy vaults of that strong castle, represent to yourself the view that struck us, on entering the interior of the place, transformed into a real den of robbers, with their fierce air and sullen countenance, bursting with rage, as if at the

moment of seizing their prey. Such were the mutinous soldiery, drawn up under arms at this place. With a spirit that could only be equalled by her energy, Madame addressed them in language calculated to move the most hardened hearts. At any other time, they would have been softened by it. But, to what an excess of disorder had they not been pushed, since their rage seemed to redouble, whilst they listened to language so noble and touching! The more the emotion of Madame augmented, the more her eloquence increased: tears inundated her cheeks.—"What! (said she to them,) is it to the regiment of Angoulème that I speak? Have you so soon forgotten the favours with which you have been loaded by the Duke d'Angoulème? ..... Do you no longer regard him, then, as your chief? he whom you called your prince? I, whom you named your princess;—Do you no longer recognize me?—Oh God! (added she, with an accent of the most heart-rending grief,) after twenty years of misfortune, it is cruel indeed to be expatriated again! I have not ceased to make vows for the happiness of my country; for I am a Frenchwoman, and you are no longer Frenchmen."—'Go away! retire!' was the reply.—Could it be supposed

that there could be found a being sufficiently vile to give utterance to such irony. I can say nothing, because I know how to respect misfortune. At the recollection of so much insolence, my blood boils within me: never did I feel so strong a feeling of indignation. Madame gave the signal of departure. A roll of the drum was given; and, as we re-passed under the batteries of this gloomy fort, our hearts were still more distracted than they were when we entered.

To soften the bitterness of the poisoned chalice, it seemed that Madame had reserved for a last attempt the review which she proposed to make of the faithful National Guard, which was drawn up in line on the superb quay that runs along the banks of the Garonne. A scene very different awaited her there. When she appeared, a general cry of *Vive le Roi! Vive Madame!* was heard on all sides. At sight of the profound grief which overspread her countenance, the manifestations of attachment to her was redoubled; the beholders expressed themselves with transport. She had much difficulty in making herself heard amidst these cries. Having at length obtained silence, and standing up in her landau, in order to be the better heard by the numerous body which

surrounded her, she freely opened her heart to these brave men; and, in a strain of eloquence the most noble and pathetic, expressed how much she was affected by their zeal and devotedness for the king.

"I come, (added she,) to demand of you a last sacrifice. Promise to obey me in all that I shall order."—'We swear it!'—"Well, then, (continued Madame,) after what I have seen, we cannot depend on the assistance of the garrison; it is useless, therefore, to endeavour to defend ourselves."

"You have done enough for your honour. Preserve yourselves as good and faithful subjects for better times. I take every thing on myself, and order you to fight no longer."—'No, no! absolve us from our oaths: we wish to die for the king; we wish to die for you!'—The multitude now pressed around her carriage; they seized Madame's hand, they kissed and inundated it with tears, demanding, as a supreme favour, that they might be permitted to shed their blood for the king. The enthusiasm extended almost to delirium; all the town participates in it, and mingles its cries of *Vive le Roi* with those of the National Guard. Never was a position more singular than that in which Madame found herself at the above me-

ment. She was placed exactly in front of that Gen. Clausel who, on the other bank, was witness of the homage which surrounded her Royal Highness. He could not lose one of the testimonies of love which were lavished on Madame, for the sound of them must have reached him most distinctly. He was much alarmed by it, and caused cannons to be pointed in that direction: white flags floated at all the windows, and formed a most disagreeable perspective for the traitor. Never did the town present a finer sight. It could not have been more brilliant on the first day of her entry in manifestations of loyalty. The population appeared doubled; and, when Madame returned to the Palace, she was accompanied by a faithful people, who blessed her with tears in their eyes, and united themselves most sincerely to her regrets and sorrows.

We had scarcely returned, when a fire of musketry commenced in the town. Persons were brought in wounded; some were killed. Every moment conveyed still worse news to Madame; and this was announced to be merely the prelude to a massacre. The regiments, in a state of insurrection, quitted their barracks: some troops drew up on the Place de la Comédie, and showed so much violence,

that the generals and several officers went to supplicate Madame earnestly to think of providing for her safety. Nothing could induce her to abandon the unhappy town. She could not sustain the thought of the frightful fate which was perhaps reserved for its inhabitants: after her departure she was overwhelmed with grief, when persons came to warn her that, if she prolonged her stay, far from being useful to Bourdeaux, she would be the cause of General Clausel's treating it much worse. So that, what could not be attained by speaking to her of the personal dangers which she incurred, she yielded to as soon as the safety of the town and its inhabitants became the question.

At eight in the evening, she received the visits of all those at Bourdeaux who, not being able to follow, did not remain the less entirely devoted to her. She then entered her carriage; and set out, escorted by the same faithful guard which had mounted of its own accord, in order to watch over her safety, and protect her retreat. A sad and profound silence reigned in the town; every one shut himself up at home, while all the windows were hermetically sealed. These were the preparations for the reception which they reserved

for General Clausel. In fact, we have since heard, that, on entering the town, he asked, if there were no longer any inhabitants in Bourdeaux. But, at the passage of Madame, in spite of the doors and windows being closed, the cry of *Vive Madame* was heard, and re-echoed on every side.

The sky became overcast as we went out of the town, and the rain began to fall in torrents. The night was one of the most obscure I ever saw, insomuch that our little escort found it difficult to recognize each other. It is thus that we set out, on a sandy road which conducts to Pouillac. We travelled all the night, and were not able to arrive there until eight o'clock in the morning, on Sunday the 2d of April. On quitting her carriage, the first thought of Madame was, to hear mass. The succours of heaven were more necessary than ever. So many sacrifices to make, in quitting France! So much disquietude, and all that was left there so dear! So many dolorous recollections, and so many trials to support! All was placed under the eyes of God, and Providence has shed its benedictions on prayers so fervent.

Every thing being ready for the embarkation, we went into the English captain's boat,

and, under a pelting shower, proceeded on board of the *Wanderer* sloop of war, which was to convey Madame to Spain, where she wished to go.

But nothing can paint the despair of the faithful guard which had escorted her Royal Highness from Bourdeaux, when the moment of final separation arrived. They accompanied the boat in small punts, and rowed round the *Wanderer*, demanding with earnestness to see Madame again: when she appeared on the deck, a general cry of grief was heard. To soften her regret, every one wished to have something which had belonged to her Royal Highness; some of her ribbands were shared amongst them; but, as there was not enough of these, she took off the white feathers which were on her hat, and distributed them. With what transports of gratitude did they not receive the precious relics! and how consoling the hope which they carried away, in thinking that this plume would rally them once more in the road of honour.

We soon after set sail, and fled from the coasts of France.

No. III.

Report of Lieutenant-General Count de Laborde, to his Excellency the Marshal Prince d'Eckmuhl, Minister of War.

Toulouse, 4th April, 1815.

MONSEIGNEUR,

I received the orders of the Emperor and yours, on the 1st instant. Informed of the wonderful events which succeeded each other so rapidly since the 1st of March, I would not have waited for orders to give the Emperor a new proof of my sentiments, but I had only a small number of officers and soldiers around me. The 69th of the line, and the greater part of the third regiment of artillery, also the 15th chasseurs, had been directed on points out of my command. I found myself in a town containing a population of fifty thousand souls, where the presence of the Baron de Vitrolles, the pretended commissioner of the King, repressed the zeal of the good citizens, who form a great majority of the inhabitants here. My forces were reduced to a mere skeleton, the Baron de Vitrolles adding to his by levies, which, though circumscribed and ill commanded, yet procured him some companies.

It was under these circumstances, that the Count Damas-Crux arrived at Toulouse. He was soon followed there by Marshal Pérignon, whom the Duke d'Angoulème had appointed to the command of the tenth division. This nomination appeared very singular; but, whilst M. Pérignon received my communications coldly, I convinced myself that his indifference, which did not escape the royalist party, heightened its confidence; and therefore concluded that all farther delay became pernicious.

Four companies of artillery, which they had despaired of attaching to a cause that is totally lost, returned from Nismes towards Toulouse. The Baron de Vitrolles ordered them, through Marshal Perignon, to retrograde on Narbonne. I eluded this order, and sent officers to direct these companies to return in the direction of Toulouse with all possible dispatch, notwithstanding the orders of M. Pérignon, which I took upon myself to disown. My arrangements being thus made, I have caused the Baron de Vitrolles to be arrested this morning at day-break, and an inventory is to be made of his papers. I have also caused the Count de Damas to be arrested.

I judged it proper to visit Gen. Pérignon, although his powers had ceased since those

which H. M. has been pleased to confide to me. I proposed that he should put himself at the head of the movement which I had in preparation, consenting willingly to sacrifice to him the honor of that day, which would thereby become the more remarkable. The General having used evasions, and shewn much indecision, I did not insist on his acquiescence, but gave the signal myself; and at 5 o'clock in the morning the tricoloured flag floated on the towers and public monuments: the garrison assumed the national cockade at the same hour, amidst the acclamations of an immense multitude.

At twelve o'clock the enthusiasm was at its height. The proclamations of the Emperor produced the most lively sensations; no excess was committed, or any symptom of opposition shewn.

The Count de St. Aulaire, prefect of this department, conducted himself extremely well.

M. de Damas and the Baron de Vitrolles earnestly demanded permission to go away. I left M. de Damas, whose capacity is not very dangerous, at full liberty to pursue his way towards Spain, by the Upper and Lower Pyrenees. This is, besides, conformable to the Emperor's decree respecting the emigrants.

As to Monsieur de Vitrolles, I thought it

important to detain him, on account of the character which he had displayed here; and of his infamous conduct; I shall therefore await the Emperor's orders relative to him.

Another dispatch, which I am preparing, will give you fresh details, as well as a summary view of our position, which is very good. It will also transmit you the names of the citizens who have seconded me in this operation; as to the officers, it would be necessary to name them all.

The letters and orders which you have transmitted to me for the Generals commanding the sub-divisions and the departments, have been regularly sent to them. All the departments of the division will promptly imitate the example of Toulouse, which will, no doubt, have great influence.

Enclosed your Excellency will find the only numbers of the *Moniteur* which are printed here. I thought it would be curious for you to see how they impose on the Southern provinces.

I have to observe, in conclusion, that, since the entrance of the Emperor into Paris, all the dispatches which may have been addressed to me, have been intercepted by M. de Vitrolles. I trust you will be pleased to remedy this without loss of time.

Marshal Pérignon has told me, that he is about to retire into the country.

I ought to report to you, that General Chartran was near being arrested by the agents of the Baron de Vitrolles. I think, however, that he will have succeeded in his project of bringing two regiments which had set out from the army under the orders of the Duke d'Angoulême, back to Toulouse.

Generals Cassagne and Cassan have perfectly seconded me in the operations which have just taken place; I considered it necessary for the service of the Emperor, to give the command at Toulouse *pro tempore* to General Cassan. The population is numerous; and that General appears to possess the talents required for such a post.

The adjutant-general Noël Girard, chief of my division, is the person whom I have charged to arrest the Baron de Vitrolles.

I have the honour to be, with respect, &c.

Comte de LABORDE,
Lieut.-Gen.

No. IV.

Report of the Marshal Prince d'Essling, dated 14th April, 1815.

SIRE,

Your Majesty's orders have experienced insurmountable delays, owing to the peculiarity of my situation.

The movements excited in the eighth division, and particularly at Marseilles, were maintained there by the presence of the Duke d'Angoulême, the character of the first civil authorities, and by the constant relations which the agents of the Princes maintained with foreign ministers, and by false reports, one more alarming than the others to the peaceable citizens.

On the other hand, the Duke d'Angoulême, who had already taken away from me three regiments, also wished to take those which were at Toulon; and he caused it to be announced to me, by M. de Riviere, that his intention was to give that port in deposit to the English, who would furnish, in return, money to the King of France.

Under circumstances so difficult, I determined, after having put Antibes in a state of

siege, in order to withdraw it from the authority of the prefect of the Var, to repair to Toulon, to preserve that place and its shipping to his Majesty.

At length, on the 10th of April, I learned that the 6th regiment had resumed the national colours at Avignon. I ordered General Leclerc to maintain its discipline, and to order it to hold itself in readiness to march.

On the 10th, I published the proclamation, of which a copy is annexed. An express carried it to the four departments of the division, with an order that it should be published and proclaimed by sound of trumpet, and during a salute of twenty-one pieces of cannon; to cause the national flag to be hoisted on all the forts, municipalities, and public buildings; and to make the troops, military and naval, resume the tri-coloured cockade.

I also gave an order to the prefects in all the divisions to dissolve the National Guards levied by the Duke d'Angoulême, to return their arms to the arsenals of the empire, and the clothing and appointments which they had received into the military stores.

I have already forbidden the prefects and receivers-general to give any pay to the National Guards, or make any payment which

would not be in the interest of your service, or to obey any order of the commandants of the King.

I have sent the Baron Sivray, chief of my staff, to Draguinan, to cause M. Bouthilier to be arrested and conveyed to Fort Lamalgue. This gentleman is the prefect of the Var, who has shown himself an ardent partizan, and who had taken violent measures, which I have been obliged to resist.

I have caused the above prefect to be provisionally replaced by the sous-prefect Ricard.

I have ordered that all acts, judicial or administrative, legal contracts or publications, &c. shall be made in the name of the Emperor, as well as the prayers which the Church should offer up for the sovereign.

On the 11th, the national colours were hoisted at Toulon, and in all the departments of the Var, amidst the cry of *Long Live the Emperor*, a thousand times repeated. Nothing could describe the joy which was manifested by the army and navy. The festival continued two days.

At Toulon I released the grenadiers of the imperial guard, who had been arrested at Antibes.

These I will send to Lyons.

I have also enlarged all the persons who were detained for mere matters of opinion.

I have sent a schooner from Toulon to the chateau d'If, with an order to the commander of that place to give up all the persons detained for similar causes.

Rear-admiral Gourdon, charged with the command of the frigates, having appeared to me as being a suspicious character, I have, in my quality of Lieutenant-general of your Majesty, charged the maritime prefect to bring him on shore, and to confide the command of the frigates and corvettes to the senior captain, M. Senes.

I have also given the last-named officer the command of the *Ariane*, intead of M. Garat.

The Count Lardenoy, commandant of Toulon, being included amongst the emigrants comprehended in the decree of your Majesty of the 13th March, I have sent him a passport for Nice.

I have sent by express to all the commandants of the department, an order to conform to the dispositions of the dispatches of the Minister of War, under the dates of the 25th March and the 8th April.

I requested Admiral Gantheaume to come

to Toulon, to take the command of the navy, as extraordinary-commissary; and, on his arrival, I made known to him the instructions of your Majesty.

On the 11th, at night, the city of Marseilles had not as yet submitted. I gave it to the 12th, and announced that I would be there on the 13th; in fact, my arrangements were made at Toulon and Avignon, but I had no occasion to act on them.

On the 12th, the Municipal Council of Marseilles deputed three of its members, who brought me the submission of that city.

I received the deputation; and, in the night of the 12th, the prefect of the Mouths of the Rhone announced to me, by an express, that the tri-coloured flag floated at the town-house, that of the prefect, on the fort, and on all the public buildings; that the greatest calm reigned in that fortress; that he had forwarded my orders and proclamations to the under-prefects, in order that all the inhabitants of the department should follow the example of their chief city.

I have ordered Messrs. de Brulard and De Riviere to be seized, if found.

I have put an end to the functions of the

prefect of the Mouths of the Rhone, of his secretary-general, and of the mayor of Marseilles; and I have replaced them provisionally.

I have ordered that the extraordinary impost of twenty-five centimes, directed to be levied by the council-general of the department, for the service of the Duke d'Angoulême, should continue to be collected for the profit of the imperial treasury.

I have called to Toulon the Brigadier Gen. Eberle, to take the command of that fortress instead of M. Lardenoy.

I shall have the honour of sending your Majesty a list of the changes in the administration which will have taken place here.

The knowledge which I have acquired of this part of France, enables me to select men of good repute, and who are devoted to your Majesty. I therefore humbly request your approbation of my appointments.

It has occurred to me, sire, that I ought not to repair immediately to Paris, as his Excellency the Minister of War authorizes me to do; my presence being still necessary in the 8th division, to consolidate the happy change which has just occurred.

The minister left me the liberty of choosing,

whether I should go there myself, or send Count Miollis. I cannot dissemble to your Majesty how ambitious I am of seeing you again, in order to assure you of my unbounded attachment.

I am, with profound respect,

Sire,

Your Majesty's

Most faithful and devoted Servant,

The MARSHAL DUKE DE RIVOLI,

Lieutenant-General of the Emperor, in the 8th and 23d Military Divisions.

(Signed) The PRINCE D'ESLING.

Toulon, 14th April, 1815.

END OF THE MEMOIRS, &c.

REASONS

DICTATED

IN ANSWER TO THE QUESTION,

"Whether the Publication entitled "The Manuscript from St. Helena," printed at London in 1817, *is the Work of Napoleon or not?*

ASSERTIONS IN THE PRETENDED MANUSCRIPT.	
I.	I. PROOF IN ANSWER.
I obtained a Lieutenancy at the commencement of the Revolution. (*p.* 4.)	NAPOLEON entered in quality of second-lieutenant into the regiment of La Fere, in October 1785, and joined that regiment at Valence, in Dauphiny.
II.	II. PROOF.
I was employed in the army of the Alps. (*p.* 7.)	Napoleon was never employed in the army of the Alps, and he never was upon Monte Genevre.

ASSERTIONS IN THE PRETENDED MANUSCRIPT.

III.

Because it obtained the rank of captain for me. (*p.* 7.)

III. PROOF IN ANSWER.

Napoleon was promoted to be a captain in 1789, four years before the commencement of the war.

IV.

I made known my plan to Barras. (*p.* 10.)

IV. PROOF.

Napoleon, chief of a battalion of artillery, commanded that corps at the siege of Toulon. He was not at all acquainted then with Barras, who, at that time was either employed upon a mission at Marseilles, or with the army of Italy. The representative of the people, who first distinguished and supported by his authority the plans which succeeded in affecting the capture of Toulon, was called Gasparin, deputy for Orange, a very warm conventionalist, an old captain of dragoons; a man greatly enlightened, and who had received an excellent education. He was the deputy who first divined the great military talents of the commandant of artillery. It was not until the well-known day

ASSERTIONS IN THE PRETENDED MANUSCRIPT.	PROOF IN ANSWER.
	of Vendemaire that Napoleon was united with Barras.
V.	V. PROOF.
A general, but without employment, I went to Paris. p. **11.**	Napoleon never was without employment. After the siege of Toulon, he was named commandant of the artillery of the army of Italy, and directed that army: the execution of his plans procured to France the capture of Saorgio, Oreille, the Col de Tende, and Ormea. In a similar manner he directed the army of Italy, in October, in its movements upon the Bormida, at the action of Dego and the capture of Savona. In February 1795, he commanded at Toulon the artillery of the maritime expedition, destined first for Corsica, and afterwards for Rome. He recommended that the convoy should not sail until the French squadron had driven off the English one; which gave rise to the naval action at Noli, where the Caira was taken, and the French squadron

PROOF IN ANSWER.

returned. The maritime expedition was countermanded. During this time, by means of his influence over the minds of the gunners, he appeased an insurrection at the arsenal, and saved the lives of the representatives Mariette and Chambon. In May 1795, at the work of Ombri, he was placed upon the list as general of infantry, and to serve in the army of La Vendée; but this was to continue so only until there was a vacancy in the corps of artillery. He went to Paris, and refused to serve in the army of La Vendée. About ten days afterwards, however, Kellerman having been beaten on the coast of Genoa, and the army of Italy obliged to retreat, Napoleon was required by the Committee of Public Safety, then composed of Sieyes, De le Tourneur, and De Pontecoulant, to draw up instructions for that army. Shortly afterwards arrived the 13th Vendemiaire, and he com-

ASSERTIONS IN THE PRETENDED MANUSCRIPT.	PROOF IN ANSWER.
	manded in chief the army of the interior at Paris.
VI. *A handful of men, and two pieces of cannon.* (*p.* 12.)	VI. PROOF. It is notorious, that, on the 13th Vendemiaire, the convention had 6,000 men, and 30 pieces of cannon to defend them.
VII. *The army of Italy,* "était en rebut." (*p.* 15.) [Synonimous with being dilapidated, or the refuse of an army.]	VII. PROOF. Napoleon was called to the chief command of the army of Italy, by the desire of the officers and soldiers who had executed his plan in 1793 at Toulon, in 1794 and 1795 in the Comté de Nice, as already stated. This army cost a great deal of money, and the treasury was empty; a strange kind of "*rebut*" certainly, to be appointed commander-in-chief of a frontier and a large army!
VIII. *By good fortune, they surrendered even more shamefully than I could have flattered myself.* (*p.* 22.)	VIII. PROOF. Malta could not have held out against a bombardment of twenty-four hours. It had certainly immense physical powers of resistance, but no moral ones.

ASSERTIONS IN THE PRETENDED MANUSCRIPT.

IX.

On my return to Egypt, I received newspapers by the way of Tunis. (*p.* 23.)

IX. PROOF IN ANSWER.

After the battle of Aboukir, on the 3d of August 1799, Sir Sydney Smith sent English newspapers, of the months of April and May, to Alexandria, in which were mentioned the disasters of the armies of the Rhine and of Italy at the commencement of the campaigns of 1799.

X.

Any general was good enough to sign a capitulation, which time would render inevitable; and I departed without any other design than that of reappearing at the head of the armies, to bring back victory again to them. (*p.* 24.)

X. PROOF.

Napoleon returned to France: 1st. Because he was authorized to do so by his instructions. 2d. Because his presence was necessary to the republic. 3d. Because the army of the east, victorious and numerous, had no longer an enemy before it, and the first object of the expedition had been fulfilled. The second object could not be obtained, as long as the Republic was beaten upon the frontiers, and torn to pieces in the interior by anarchy. The army of the east was victorious over

PROOF IN ANSWER.

the armies of Syria commanded by Djezzar Pacha, which had been nearly destroyed successively at the battles of El-arish, Gaza, Jaffa, and at Acre. At the battle of Mount Tabor, from 50,000 to 60,000 Ottoman troops had been either killed, taken, or dispersed, as well as their park of artillery of 40 field-pieces, all their stores, and their General-in-chief Abdallah. The French army was equally victorious over the army of Rhodes, which had perished, partly at St. Jean de Acre and partly at Aboukir, where 40,000 had been killed, taken, or dispersed, as well as their park of artillery, consisting of 32 pieces of cannon, with the vizier of the Turks, Mustapha Pacha, who commanded them. The French army was numerous, because it mustered more than 25,000 fighting men, of whom 3500 were cavalry, and had a very considerable force of field and siege artillery. The libels have said

PROOF IN ANSWER.

that Napoleon ran away, and deserted his army; that he abandoned it, because it was in distress; that it had no more artillery, no more clothing, and was reduced to 8000 combatants. These false reports influenced the British cabinet so much, that it refused to ratify the convention of El-arish. On the 20th of March, 1800, the Grand Vizier was beaten at Heliopolis, nine months after Napoleon's departure; and 21 months afterwards, 19,000 or 20,000 English troops disembarked at Aboukir, 6000 more arrived at Suez from India, and 20,000 Turks, under the orders of the Grand Vizier and the Captain Pacha. These 45,000 men were obliged to make a campaign of six months, and to fight several battles. This expedition cost the lives of about 10,000 of the choicest troops in England, as many of the Turks, and several millions sterling to the government; and had it not been for the silliness of Me-

nou, who had succeeded by seniority after the assassination of Kleber, the expedition would have failed. Such were the consequences produced to the English nation by their having given faith to libellers. In October 1801, nearly three years after the departure of Napoleon, the army of the east disembarked at Marseilles and Toulon, in number 24,000 men, of whom 23,000 were in a fit state to bear arms. It had been originally composed of 32,000 men, on its departure from Toulon in 1798; 4000 were left in Malta, but, in place of them, 2000 Maltese troops were incorporated with the French army, which was 30,000 strong, on its arrival in Egypt, and received there 3000 men, the remains of crews of the French squadron, and then was 33,000 strong, composed of French, Italians, Poles, and Maltese, amongst whom there were 24,000 real Frenchmen. Thus then the loss sustained was about 9000

ASSERTIONS IN THE PRETENDED MANUSCRIPT.

PROOF IN ANSWER.

men; from which must be deducted about 2000 who returned individually, or in convoys of wounded, which reduces the difference to 7000; counting all losses by diseases during four years, and those sustained at the assault of Alexandria, at the battles of Chebreiss, the Pyramids, the actions at Salhièh, the campaigns of Syria, that of Desaix in Upper Egypt: in fact, during the command of Kleber at the actions of Damietta, the battle of Heliopolis, the siege of Cairo; under Menou, in the actions in the month of March 1801, against the English, and until the surrender. It is well known that Napoleon, in leaving Egypt, firmly believed it to belong for ever to France, and hoped to be able to realize the second object of the expedition.

XI.

We had our fortune to make. (*p.* 31.)

XI. PROOF.

At the moment of crossing Mount St. Bernard, in May and June 1800, Napoleon had fought twenty pitched battles; in every one of which

he had been victorious:—conquered Italy; dictated peace to Austria, at twenty leagues distance from Vienna; negociated at Radstadt with Count Cobenzel the surrender of the strong city of Mayence; raised near 300 millions of contributions, which had served to feed, clothe, and furnish with necessaries, the army during two years; and to create the Cisalpine army; to pay the the army of the Rhine, the squadron of Toulon at Brest, and even to pay some of the offices of government in Paris. He had sent to the museum 300 *chef d'œuvres,* ancient Grecian statues or pictures, *chef d'œuvres* of the age of the Medici. He had conquered Egypt; had established the French power there upon a firm basis, after having surmounted what was then, in Volney's opinion, the greatest difficulty, viz. to conciliate the precepts laid down in the Koran and the Mohammedan religion, with

ASSERTIONS IN THE PRETENDED MANUSCRIPT.

PROOF IN ANSWER.

the presence of a foreign army. For six months he had been at the head of the Republic, by the choice of three millions of citizens, and of which he had re-established the finances, calmed the factions, eradicated the war in La Vendée, and moderated that in the west. After so many occurrences, how is it possible to say that he had his fortune to make?

XII.

The factions appeared to be silenced. (*p.* 33.)

XII. PROOF.

It is notorious, that, from Marengo until the INFERNAL MACHINE, that is to say, during the last six months of 1800, the factions were more active than ever.

XIII.

Unfortunately, at this decisive moment, one of those chance strokes which destroy the best resolutions, presented itself to me. (*p.* 46.)

XIII. PROOF.

The Duke d'Enghien perished, because he was one of the principal actors in the conspiracy of Georges, Pichegru, and Moreau. Pichegru was arrested the 28th of February; Georges the 9th of March; and the Duke d'Enghien the 18th of March, 1804.

ASSERTIONS IN THE PRETENDED MANUSCRIPT.	
XIV. *My advanced-guard encountered the Austrians at Ulm, and overwhelmed them.* (*p.*59.)	XIV. PROOF IN ANSWER. At Ulm 80,000 Austrians were made prisoners, from 26 to 30 generals, 60 to 80 colours, and from 200 to 300 pieces of cannon. Truly, this was a notable rencontre of an advanced-guard!
XV. *The Russians retired in good order, and abandoned the Austrian empire to me.* (*p.* 59.)	XV. PROOF. The Russians made no retreat: all their park of artillery was taken. The wreck of their army which was saved had abandoned their wallets and their arms. The Emperor Alexander, surrounded in Hölich, would have been made prisoner, if he had not given his word to evacuate Hungary by such daily routes as were *pointed* out to him.
XVI. *The campaign re-commenced. I pursued the retreat of the Russians. I arrived in Poland.* (*p.*60.)	XVI. PROOF. The campaign did not recommence. The French did not follow the Russians into Poland. The Russians retreated with the greatest precipitation beyond the Niemen. Peace was signed

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PROOF IN ANSWER.

with Austria at Vienna, an agreement was likewise signed with Prussia, and Napoleon returned to Paris. Although he was in Poland, it was not in consequence of the battle of Austerlitz, but after the campaign of Jena, and not by the route of Vienna, but by that of Berlin. There is an anachronism of a year. The battle of Austerlitz took place on the 2d of December, 1804; that of Jena the 14th of October, 1806; that of Eylau the 8th of February, 1807; that of Friedland, the 14th of June, 1807; the peace of Tilsit, the 7th of July, 1807.

XVII.

If the Russians had attacked us the morning afterwards, we would have been beaten. (*p.* 62.)

XVII. PROOF.

The Russians had it not in their power to attack the morning after the battle of Eylau, that is to say, the 9th of February; because, at five o'clock in the evening of the 8th, they were no longer on the field of battle, which was occupied by the third corps of the French army. At

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PROOF IN ANSWER.

three o'clock on the morning of the 9th, the Russian army was under the ramparts of Königsberg, at six leagues distance from the field of battle, having abandoned all their wounded. This supposition therefore is inadmissible. But even supposing that the Russian army had remained upon the field of battle, and that it might have made an attack the morning after, the corps of Marshals Ney and Bernadotte, which had taken no part in the battle, arrived during the night. If the Russians had been beaten by the French army during the absence of those two corps, how is it to be conceived that they would have been victors, after the arrival of a reinforcement of six divisions against them?

XVIII.

The youngest was still young enough to wait. (*p.* 65.)

XVIII. PROOF.

Jerome was the cadet who, at the moment the author is speaking of, was King of Westphalia, and therefore had no occasion to wait. But

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PROOF IN ANSWER.

the writer is continually led astray by his anachronism, in supposing that Jena was after Tilsit.

XIX.

The neutrality of Prussia would have been above all essential to me in the last campaign. In order to assure myself of it, some overtures were made to him about the cession of a part of Hanover. (*p.* 74.)

XIX. PROOF.

Two days before the battle of Austerlitz, Count Haugwitz, first minister to the King of Prussia, came to Brünn in Moravia, where he had two audiences with Napoleon. But the advanced posts were already engaged; and Napoleon told him to go and await at Vienna the result of the battle, saying, "I will beat them; therefore wait and say nothing to me. To-day I will know nothing." Haugwitz was no novice in affairs; he did not require to be told so a second time. The battle of Austerlitz took place, Napoleon returned to Vienna, and a convention was signed the 15th of December 1805, between France and Prussia, in order to tranquillize the last with respect to the treaty which her king had signed with the Empe-

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PROOF IN ANSWER.

ror of Russia some weeks before. Prussia promised to disarm; and, in return, obtained a promise from France that the latter would not interfere or oppose her annexing Hanover to her possessions; and, in exchange for so doing, required Wesel, Bareuth, and Neufchatel. Prussia could not demand Hanover at Tilsit: Tilsit was after Jena. This mistake in the date throws an air of obscurity over a great part of the pamphlet.

XX.

I refused every thing, and Hanover received another destination. (*p.*76.)

XX. PROOF.

The convention signed with Haugwitz at Vienna, in December 1805, only received a conditional ratification at Berlin; which being contrary to custom, gave room to a discussion during the exchange of ratifications, and produced difficulties which occupied a portion of 1806; but which were finally removed. Prussia declared war in the month of October, without any reason, and

PROOF IN ANSWER.

not in consequence of cabinet councils, or the will of the king, but by the effervescence of passion. It is a fact, that at the end of the summer of 1806, Prussia flew to arms, deceived by a false dispatch of the Marquis Luchesini, who assured the Court of Berlin, that in the treaty which had been just signed at Paris between France and Russia by the Count d'Oubril, these two great Powers had entered into engagements contrary to the interests of Russia. In the first moment of alarm, the Court of Berlin took up arms against both the Russians and French, but were not long, however, before an explanation took place, and Prussia was perfectly well assured on the part of Russia, as this last disavowed what d'Oubril had done, and refused to ratify the treaty, in which, moreover, there was no question of Prussia. After having so gallantly armed against both Russia and France, the

ASSERTIONS IN THE PRETENDED MANUSCRIPT.	PROOF IN ANSWER.
	court of Prussia finding that there was only occasion to fight with France, and being moreover assured of assistance from Russia, made sure of victory. Some weeks afterwards, however, the battle of Jena, which took place the 14th of October 1806, decided the question.
XXI.	XXI. PROOF.
I was desirous of at least correcting what I had done in Prussia, by organising the confederation of the Rhine. (*p.* 80.)	The Confederation of the Rhine preceded the battle of Jena. It was formed on the 12th of June, 1806. It was not therefore, as appears to the author, after that battle and after Tilsit, that it was organized.
XXII.	XXII. PROOF.
Nevertheless, after the battle of Jena, I did not feel within myself that plenitude of confidence, nor that contempt of futurity, to which I was indebted	The capture of Magdeburg, Spandau, Custrin, and Stettin, the battle of Pultusk, the capture of Dantzig, Glogau, Breslau, Brieg, Schweidnitz, the battle of Friedland, and the conferences at Tilsit, took place in 1807, and posterior to the battle of Jena, which happened on the 14th

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PROOF IN ANSWER.

for so many of my first successes. (*p.* 87.)

of October, 1806. The capture of Madrid, the battles of Espinosa, Burgos, and Tudela, the operations against Sir John Moore's army, were in 1808. The battle of Alensberg, the manœuvres of Landshüt, the battle of Eckmühl, the capture of Vienna, the battles of Esling and Wagram, the peace of Presburg, were in 1809, and three years subsequent to the battle of Jena. The battle of Alensberg, the manœuvres of Landshut, and the battle of Eckmühl, were the most brilliant and skilful manœuvres of Napoleon.

XXIII.

In revenge, the Archduke performed an excellent march: he guessed my project, and was before hand with me; he proceeded rapidly upon Vienna by the left bank of the

XXIII.° PROOF.

The archduke Charles did nothing else than commit faults during that campaign; he was beaten when he had four times the numbers of his opponents; he did not proceed rapidly upon Vienna, but he placed himself opposite to it, which is essentially different. The plan of the French ruler was to take

ASSERTIONS IN THE PRETENDED MANUSCRIPT.	PROOF IN ANSWER.
Danube, and took up a position at the same time that I did. (*p.* 99.)	that capital, to disengage his army of Italy, and to join it to his own. He succeeded in all: he took the capital, turned the army of Italy commanded by Prince John, and established himself in communication with Prince Eugene by Styria, Carniola, and Carinthia.
XXIV. *The Archduke, instead of opposing at all risks Prince Eugene, allowed himself to be beaten.* (*p.* 100.)	XXIV. PROOF. The arrival of the Viceroy upon the Danube, was signalized by the battle of Raab, which took place after the battle of Esling, and not before, as the author appears to believe. The battle of Esling took place on the 22d of May 1819; that of Raab on the 14th of June, on the anniversary of Marengo, after an interval of 22 days. It was not the Prince of Esling who debouched first at the battle of Esling, but Marshal Lasnes. The army was formed in the Isle of Lobau on the 21st, the bridges were thrown over the river on the evening of the 20th, and on the

PROOF IN ANSWER.

21st the advanced-guard made themselves masters of Esling. About two o'clock *p. m.* a smart combat took place; and on the 22d the battle was fought. On both these days the field of battle remained in possession of the French army. The enemy attacked the village of Esling a great many times, and took it, but were always driven out again. At four o'clock in the evening the battle ceased, and the village remained in possession of General Rapp and Count Lobau, who by their personal bravery decided the day. However, Marshal Davoust's corps was still on the right bank, the bridges having been broken down by the sudden rise of the Danube three times within 48 hours, and having been as many times re-established by the activity of General Bertrand; but still Davoust's corps and the parks of artillery had not passed, and when the bridges were carried away a fourth

time, about 2 o'clock in the morning, and the Danube continued to rise with great rapidity, General Bertrand signified the impossibility of re-establishing them again; upon which Napoleon ordered the army to resume its position in the island of Lobau, by crossing the branch of the Danube, which was 60 toises broad, and very deep. The Isle of Lobau is very large, and separated from the right bank by the great branch or arm of the Danube, 500 toises broad. In this position he could not be attacked. Even in the morning, several boats laden with ammunition were passed over to it. The old Guard remained in reserve during the whole of the battle of the 22d *appuyant* the village, and did not lose more than 100 men by the cannonade, and it was entire in the Island of Lobau. Prince Charles and the Austrian Generals in this day, did all that could be expected from

ASSERTIONS IN THE PRETENDED MANUSCRIPT.

PROOF IN ANSWER.

them, and, if they had attempted to pass the arm of Lobau, they would have terminated by causing the destruction of their army, which had even then suffered an enormous loss.

XXV.

The English attempted an expedition against Antwerp, which would have succeeded, had it not been for their incapacity. (*p.* 101.)

XXV. PROOF.

Antwerp was surrounded by bastions, its ramparts were covered with artillery; the garrison consisted of 3,000 men, recruits certainly. In the maritime arsenal there were two battalions of military, and 200 civil workmen. The squadron, manned with from 9 to 10,000 sailors, proceeded up to the city. Antwerp was entirely out of the reach of a *coup de main*, having more than 15,000 men to defend it; besides, in a few weeks a great number of National Guards arrived. Antwerp could not have been taken unless by a siege; and in consequence of its local situation, it is extremely difficult to invest. In order to have taken that city, the

ASSERTIONS IN THE PRETENDED MANUSCRIPT.	PROOF IN ANSWER.
	English ought to have surprised it, which was impossible, after they lost so much time before Flushing, and after having failed in cutting off the squadron from the city. The fleet once in Antwerp, that city was no longer to be taken.
XXVI.	XXVI. PROOF.
I assisted myself at this passage, because it gave me some uneasiness. (*p.* 102.)	General Bertrand threw three bridges upon piles over the Danube, and the French army, instead of passing over in one night, passed at its leisure. It was formed in the Island of Lobau.
XXVII.	XXVII. PROOF.
The intrepidity of our troops and a bold manœuvre of Macdonald, decided the day. (*p.* 102.)	The change of front of the left wing in the rear, was effected by Prince Eugene.
XXVIII.	XXVIII. PROOF.
The Austrian army defiled in disorder, in a	It is evident that this passage has been dictated by a man who is unacquainted

ASSERTIONS IN THE PRETENDED MANUSCRIPT.	PROOF IN ANSWER.
long plain. (*p.* 102.)	with the ground; who was not present at the battle of Wagram, and who is ignorant of the movement which Napoleon caused General Marmont and Marshal Davoust to make upon Znaim.
XXIX.	XXIX. PROOF.
The Court of Austria commenced by deranging my plans upon Poland, by refusing to restore what we had taken from that power. (p. 18.)	The writer does not know the *secret* articles in the treaty of alliance, concluded at Paris at the commencement of 1812.
XXX.	XXX. PROOF.
I retire slowly. (*p.* 127.)	The author of this work has never been present at any battle. Napoleon commanded in sixty pitched battles, all of which, except two, he gained.
XXXI.	XXXI. PROOF.
I was prisoner. (*p.* 135.)	At Fontainbleau Napoleon had still several armies at his disposal, and all the strong-holds in France and Italy.

ASSERTIONS IN THE PRETENDED MANUSCRIPT.

XXXII.

Our passage lasted five days. (*p.* 146.)

XXXII. PROOF IN ANSWER.

The passage from Elba to the Gulf of Juan lasted sixty hours.

XXXIII.

My pacific attitude lulled the nation asleep. (*p.* 146.)

XXXIII. PROOF.

It cannot be said that Napoleon, who for three months laboured fifteen or sixteen hours daily, was "lulled asleep." Never, in any epoch of the history of nations, was there so much done in two months. It was necessary to arm and provision anew a hundred fortresses, and to repress the civil war at Marseilles, Bourdeaux, and La Vendée. The army was increased from 80,000 men to 500,000; of whom 200,000, not clothed or completely organized, were collected in the fortresses, in order to garrison them; and, by these means, render the troops of the line disposable. In June the line had 220,000 men ready for battle, and 80,000 not clothed, who were getting ready in the *depots*. These 220,000 men formed first the

PROOF IN ANSWER.

army of the North, composed of the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, and 6th corps, the Imperial Guard, and the cavalry of the reserve,

Forming,	120,000
The third corps in Alsace,	25,000
The 7th at Chamberis,	25,000
——— La Vendée	25,000
The 4th corps of observation at Befort, for Toulouse, Bourdeaux,	25,000
	220,000

The cavalry was re-mounted from about 14,000 to 40,000, the artillery from 2,000 horses to 30,000. Manufactories of arms were constructed, which surpassed by far in their products any of those which had been formed during the Revolution. The nation, far from being asleep, never manifested more energy; but the time was too short by a month. In the course of another month, the army of the line would have amounted to 80,000 men more; one-half of the troops who were forming in the forts would have been able to have fallen in with the troops of

ASSERTIONS IN THE PRETENDED MANUSCRIPT.

PROOF IN ANSWER.

the line, which would then have amounted to 400,000 men; 100,000 in the forts, and 300,000 men who were raising in the departments, and had already begun to arrive in the *depots*.

XXXIV.

I was deceived in believing that it was possible to defend the straits of Thermopylae, "en chargeant les armes en douze temps." (*p.* 147.)

XXXIV. PROOF.

Napoleon entered Paris the 20th of March in the evening: on the 24th the Count d'Artois dismissed the guard at Bethune. On the 1st of April the tri-coloured flag waved at Lisle, and all the northern parts of France. Louis XVIII. established himself at Ghent. On the 8th of April the Duc d'Angoulême passed by main force the bridge of La Drôme, and entered Valence. On the 12th he was made prisoner, and was pardoned by Napoleon. On the 10th of April, Marseilles submitted, and hoisted the tri-coloured flag: on the 20th of April, 100 pieces of cannon announced to France that the Imperial flag waved over the whole

PROOF IN ANSWER.

extent of its territory. On the 15th of June Napoleon commenced hostilities, and passed the Sambre; that is to say, six weeks after the pacification: but it ought to have been done a month before, that is to say, on the 15th of May. However, France *then* flattered herself with a continuation of the peace, and the entire national opinion would have disavowed such a premature attack; and besides, the army of the line was not then sufficient to guard the forts, above all those to the northward, without great risk of losing them. It could not have been possible to have entered Belgium with more than 40,000 men. Lord Wellington and Blucher had already more than 180,000: it would have been one against four. When the attack was made, in the middle of June, it was done with 120,000 men. Lord Wellington and Blucher had about 220,000 men. Matters were changed, and it

PROOF IN ANSWER.

was only one against two, supposing them to have united their forces. If Napoleon had deferred the attack, he would have had a stronger army, and better organized; but information had been received and credited, that the Russian and Austrian armies, 400,000 strong, would attack on the 1st of July. It was intended to beat the English and Prussian armies separately. This was well understood:—the operations of the 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th of June, were conducted with skill. At first, Lord Wellington and Blucher were surprised and attacked in detail:—Blucher beaten, and Lord Wellington obliged to retreat. The inconceivable sluggishness of Grouchy caused the loss of the battle of Waterloo, which 69 or 70,000 French had gained until five in the evening, against about 36,000 English, 44,000 Belgians and Hanoverians, and 30,000 Prussians,

PROOF IN ANSWER.

of Bulow's corps, when 32,000 of Blucher's two corps, the 1st and 4th, arrived upon the field of battle, which Grouchy had the *mal adresse* not to do. The enemy then consisted of 146,000 men against 67,000. Independant of the faults on the part of Grouchy, many other causes had great influence upon the fortune of that day. In other times, the French, although so inferior in number, would have gained the victory; which indeed, the obstinate and unyielding bravery of the English troops *alone* prevented them from obtaining. Some day or another, the other causes will be made evident to the world.

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J. and C. Adlard, Printers, 23, Bartholomew-Close.

(A.)

MILITARY SITUATION OF FRANCE IN MARCH 1815.

	EFFECTIVE ARMY.		READY to take THE FIELD.		OBSERVATIONS.
	Men.	Horses.	Men.	Horses.	
102 Regiments of infantry of the line . . .	91,000	- -	61,200	"	
4 Regiments of foreign infantry (Swiss) . .	4,000	- -	- -	- -	These regiments were dismissed on the 20th March, which is the reason why they are noted here.
4 Regiments of infantry of the old guard .	4,000	- -	3,300	"	
57 Regiments of cavalry of the line . . .	25,000	16,000	11,000	11,000	Produced only 11,000 men, owing to the deficiency in the number of horses.
4 Regiments of cavalry of the old guard . .	3,200	3,000	2,800	2,800	
12 Regiments of artillery of the line . . .	16,000	- -	12,000	- -	These 12,000 men are in proportion to the army.
Artillery of the old guard	"	"	"	"	
Engineers of the line	5,000	- -	3,000	"	
Engineers of the old guard	"	"	"	"	
Waggon corps of the line	1,000	- -	600	"	
Waggon corps of the old guard	"	"	"	"	
	149,200	19,000	93,900	13,800	

N. B. Besides 12,000 gendarmes (or military police), and 10,000 veterans.

ORGANIZATION OF THE FRENCH ARMY, TO 800,000 MEN, 1st OF SEPTEMBER, 1815.

SUB-DIVISIONS.			SOLDIERS.	
102 Regiments of the line, forming 510 battalions of 880 men	428,400		*These sub-divisions were to be completed by—*	
12 Foreign battalions	10,800			
52 Battalions of the imperial guard	31,200	473,400	1st 145,000 men, effective on the 1st of March, deducting from the effective number the 4 Swiss regiments which were dismissed at the end of May	145,200
10 Squadrons of select gendarmerie	3,000			
57 Regiments of cavalry	57,000			
4 Regiments of cavalry of the guard	4,000	61,000		
Horse and foot artillery, waggon train, pontoon corps, pioneers, workmen, drivers of military stores, including the guard	50,000	50,000	2nd The enrolment of the military on half-pay	130,000
			3rd From the conscrip. of 1815, received in June	80,000
			4th From do. to be received in July and August	20,000
			5th The summons to 250,000 men, which was to be made in July	250,000
EXTRAORDINARY ARMY.			6th The 200 select battalions of national guards	112,000
200 Batts. selected from the national guard	112,200		7th The 48 ditto of the South of France	26,800
48 Battalions of ditto from Dauphiny, Languedoc, and La Gironde	26,800		8th The battalions of marine artillery	6,000
10 Battalions of marine artillery	10,000		9th The summons of 4,000 marine artillerymen on half-pay	4,000
20 Regiments of seamen	30,000	224,800	10th 30,000 seamen of the former fleets	30,000
10 Regiments of veterans	10,000		11th Battalions of veterans existing in March	10,000
Coast-guards	6,000		12th Summons to 30,000 men on half-pay	30,000
Battalions of officers, non-commissioned officers, soldiers on half-pay	30,000		13th Foreign regiments, Piedmontiese, Italians, Spaniards, Irish, Flemings, &c.	14,000
		809,200		858,000

(C.)

ARMS.	
Arms in possession of the Soldiers in March, 1815	150,000
In the Magazines	150,000
Additional supplies from the manufactories, during April, May, June, July, August, and September	240,000
Extra manufactories established at Paris, and in all the fortified towns, whether for repairing muskets, new stocked, spare arms, or for new guns, for April and May	60,000
For June	120,000
For July, August, and September	450,000
TOTAL	1,170,000

MILITARY SITUATION OF FRANCE ON THE 1st OF JUNE, 1815.

ARMY OF THE LINE.

	Under arms.	Depôts.	Effective.
Each of the regiments of the line has furnished 2 battalions of 600 men to the army in the field, leaving in depôt its 3d, 4th, and 5th, battalions.	126,000	85,000	211,000
Regiments of foreign infantry	- -	8,000	8,000
Infantry of the guard	14,000	10,000	24,000
10 Squadrons of gendarmerie serving in the army of La Vendée, count as infantry	3,000	- -	3,000
As cavalry	1,500	- -	1,500
57 Regiments of cavalry of the line . .	28,500	17,000	45,500
Cavalry of the guard	4,000	2,000	6,000
Artillery of the line	22,000	12,000	34,000
Artillery of the guard	400	100	500
Waggon train of the line	6,000	2,000	8,000
Waggon train of the guard	2,000	1,000	3,000
	217,400	146,100	363,500

EXTRAORDINARY ARMY.

Employed in guarding the fortresses and coasts.

200 Battalions of select national guards, of 560 men each . .	112,000
20 Regiments of seamen	30,000
10 Battalions of marine artillery men.	8,000
Coast-guards	6,000
Veterans	10,000
Military on half pay and reduced, placed in garrison	30,000
	196,000

SUMMARY

Effective force of the army of the line	363,500
Effective force of the extraordinary army	196,000
General effective military strength of France, on the 1st June, 1815 .	559,500

N. B. In this statement the 12,000 men of the gendarmerie, in the margin, and employed in the police of the interior are not comprized. In June there was therefore 146,000 men at the depôts. In July there were 200,000 to be raised. By supposing that on the 15th of August, 100,000 of them should have arrived at the depôts, that would increase them to 246,000 men. At that period, 100,000 men were necessary for recruiting the army near Paris, 18,000 men, for that near Lyons. Total 118,000 men. Further and not equipped, 40,000 men for the garrison at Paris, and 10,000 men for that of Lyons. Total 50,000 men. General total 168,000 men. There would therefore remain at the depôts for the divisions, the sick, &c. 73,000 men, who would be augmented with 100,000 men in September, by the completion of the levy of the 200,000 men.

DETAIL OF THE SITUATION OF THE ARMY OF THE LINE, ON THE 1st OF JUNE, 1815.

	On the 1st of March, 1815.			On 1st June, 1815.				
	In arms disposable.	Depôts organizing.	Effective on 1st March.	Summons of retired Military.	Conscription of 1815.	In arms, disposable.	Depôts organizing.	Effective on 1st June.
102 Regiments of infantry of the line	61,200	29,800	91,000	70,000	50,000	126,000	85,000	211,000
Foreign regiments	- -	- -	4,000	-	- -	- -	8,000	8,000
Regiments of infantry of the guard	3,300	700	4,000	10,000	10,000	14,000	10,000	24,000
Regiments of cavalry of the line	11,000	14,000	25,000	15,000	5,500	28,500	17,000	45,000
4 Regiments of cavalry of the guard	2,800	400	3,200	2,800	- -	4,000	2,000	6,000
Artillery of the line	12,000	4,000	16,000	14,000	4,000	22,000	12,000	34,000
Artillery of the guard	- -	- -	- -	5,000	2,000	4,000	3,000	7,000
Engineers of the line	3,000	2,000	5,000	5,000	2,000	6,000	6,000	12,000
Ditto of the guard	- -	- -	- -	500	- -	400	100	500
Waggon-corps	600	400	1,000	4,000	3,000	6,000	2,000	8,000
Ditto of the guard	- -	- -	- -	2,000	1,000	2,000	1,000	3,000
Gendarmerie on service	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	4,500	- -	4,500
	93,900	51,300	149,200	128,300	77,500	217,400	146,100	363,500

Besides 12,000 Gendarmes for the police of the interior of the empire, and 10,000 Veterans.

STATEMENT OF THE STRENGTH OF THE ANGLO-BELGIAN ARMY ASSEMBLED IN FLANDERS, ON 15th JUNE, 1815.

CORPS	Description of Forces.	Divisions.	TROOPS Composing the Divisions.	Numbers of Regiments.	Strength in Brigades.	Strength in Divisions.	Strength in Armies.	Strength in
1st corps H. S. H. the Prince of Orange	Infantry.	1st Gen. Cooke	1st Brig. of Brit. guards	1 & 3	1,800	3,500		
			2d....do.....do. . .	2 & 3	1,700			
		3rd Bar. Alten	5th Brigade of British .	30 33 67 73	2,600	8,800		
			1st do. Ger. light infan. .	5 8 1 & 2 leg.	3,000			
			3rd do. Hanoverian . . .	4 battalions	3,200			
		7th Lieut. Gen. Collaert	Dutch, Flemings	12....do.....	.....	7,500	41,300	
		8th. Lieut. Gen. Chassé	Dutch, Flemings	12....do.....	.....	7,500		
		9th Lieut. Gen. Perponcher	Dutch, Flemings, Nassau	12.... do.....	.....	8,000		
		10th H. S. H. the Duke of Brunswick	Brunswickers	8....do.....	.....	6,000		73,
2nd corps Lord Hill	Infantry.	2nd Sir H. Clinton	3rd Brigade of British .	52 71 95	2,700	8,900	31,700	
			2nd do. German legion .	1 2 3 4	3,000			
			3rd do. Hanoverians . .	.....	3,200			
		4th General C. Colville	4th Brigade of British .	14 23 51	1,900	7,100		
			6th....do.....do. . . .	35 54 59 91	2,000			
			6th....do. Hanoverians.	.....	3,200			
		5th Sir T. Picton	8th Brigade of British .	28 32 79 91	3,000	9,200		
			9th....do.....do. . . .	1 42 44 92	3,000			
			5th....do. Hanoverians.	.....	3,200			
		6th Sir J. Lambert	10th Brigade of British .	4 27 40 81	3,300	6,500		
			4th do. Hanoverians . .	.....	3,200			
Lord Uxbridge	Cavalry.	1st Lord E. Somerset.	1st & 2nd life guards		1,250	2,500		
			1st drag. guards roy. horse guards blue . .		1,250			
		2nd Sir W. Ponsonby	1st, 2nd, & 6th Dragoons		.....	1,875		
		3rd Sir W. Dornberg	1st & 2nd Light dragoons of the German legion		1,200	1,825		
			23rd Dragoons		625			
		4th Sir Ormsby Vandaleur	11th, 12th, & 16th, Light dragoons		.....	1,875		
		5th Sir G. Grant	2nd Hussars of German legion		600	1,850	.....	20
			7th Light dragoons, 5th Hussars		1,250			
		6th Sir N. H. Vivian	1st Hussars of German legion		600	1,850		
			18th Light dragoons & 10th Hussars		1,250			
		7th Sir F. d' Arentschild	3rd Hussars of German legion		600	1,225		
			13th Light dragoons		625			
			Prince Regent's Bremen Verdan		—	—		
		8th Col. Astorf	Cumberland, Hanoverian hussars		.....	2,000		
		9th	Dutch and Flemish cavalry		.....	3,200		
		10th	Brunswick cavalry		.....	1,800		
	Artill. Engin. Waggon-Train, having 250 Guns.		British		5,000	.....	.....	11
			Germans		3,200			
			Dutch, Flemings		3,000			

Total strength of the Anglo-Belgian army 104,200 men, 250 pieces of cannon.

N. B.—Besides 14 regiments of British infantry recently landed at Ostend, or in garrison fortresses in Flanders.

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